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URBAN COMMITMENT AND INVOLVEMENT AMONG BLACK RHODESIANS

VALERIE MOLLER

**CENTRE FOR APPLIED SOCIAL SCIENCES
SENTRUM VIR TOEGEPASTE MAATSKAPLIKE WETENSKAPPE**

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URBAN COMMITMENT AND INVOLVEMENT AMONG
BLACK RHODESIANS

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF MIGRATION AND
URBANIZATION IN THREE SALISBURY
AFRICAN TOWNSHIPS

VALERIE MØLLER

CSS

CASS/9-MØLLER

CENTRE FOR APPLIED SOCIAL SCIENCES
UNIVERSITY OF NATAL
DURBAN

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Valerie Møller

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CHAPTER 1.INTRODUCTION.

With this study I hope to make a valid contribution to the research currently being conducted in the field of *migration and urbanization* in various parts of Southern Africa. In order to give an idea of how best to relate this study to the already well-documented research in this field, an abbreviated history of its origin might prove useful by way of introduction.

The survey data on which this study is based was collected in the course of several years - to be precise from 1973 to mid-1975 - while I was living with my husband in Salisbury, Rhodesia. When I first joined the Urban Studies Research Unit attached to the Department of Sociology at the University of Rhodesia in December 1972 as a junior research fellow, the field-work for the first survey included in this study had already commenced. This first survey was conducted in the single men's hostels in Salisbury, which houses migrant labourers who leave their families in the rural areas while they work in town. The survey objective had been dictated by various sponsoring parties, and planning interests predominated. On the one hand, knowledge of the flow of traffic between the city and rural areas and its fluctuation during the year was particularly pertinent for the projections of the local city engineers. On the other hand, rural visiting patterns and their implications for urban community life were of considerable importance for local authority and governmental departments concerned with the housing and administration of in-migrants. Finally, there was the more academic interest in the significance of rural visiting for migration and urbanization. Reporting on this first survey figured under a mobility heading, referring to geographic or spatial movements of urban dwellers involved in circular migration and rural visiting.

While the return from this first survey was still being analysed, a second replicative survey of townsmen living in family accommodation was already being launched by local administration research officers. The Urban Studies Research Unit once more obliged by analysing and writing up the report on this survey. Research interest again focussed on geographic mobility of urban dwellers, but included residential mobility aspects as well as rural visiting patterns.

This brief introduction to the background of the research effort may be helpful in understanding why much of the collected empirical material could only in retrospect be interpreted in specific terms of migration and urbanization, - a fact which has also left its imprint on the development of theoretical arguments

post hoc. An attempt to rectify this somewhat backhanded research approach was given in a third instance, when the initiative for a research project came from the Urban Studies Research Unit itself. A third, self-contained survey was designed to compare mobility of different urban groups, which partially replicated mobility aspects included in the two earlier surveys. The concept of mobility was loosely defined to encompass social mobility in town as well as geographic mobility involving emigration and rural visiting behaviour (if so desired, spatial mobility can of course ultimately be interpreted in terms of social mobility by the structurally oriented sociologist). Thus, a shift in interest from the migration to urbanization topic was indicated and the factors committing an in-migrant to town and involving him in urban life came under close examination.

When inspecting the list of contents it will be noted that the chapters of this study are coarsely divided into three parts.

In a first introductory section, I have outlined the theoretical framework, which guided the interpretation of the data material, and given a cursory description of the migration context from both the urban immigration and the rural emigration pole. The specific working hypotheses are set up in the last chapter of this introductory section.

In a second more descriptive section, I shall report on the actual survey findings which provide evidence in support of the research propositions. Although chief emphasis is placed on the last comparative survey, findings from earlier surveys are drawn upon whenever pertinent.

In the last more analytic section, survey findings are re-examined in depth using multivariate techniques and the significance of various urban status configurations for the migration and urbanization process are discussed in the light of relevant theory.

CHAPTER 2.THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK FOR THE STUDY OF AFRICAN MIGRATION AND URBANIZATION.

Although phenomena related to African labour in an urban industrial centre can be studied from many angles, the approach taken will necessarily reflect the theoretical orientation of the researcher, no matter how objectively and unbiassed he may face his subject matter.¹⁾ The givens at the outset of this study were a range of urban problems and a fair amount of facts. It will be appreciated, that for any sociologist wishing to test hypotheses derived from a systematically ordered body of general knowledge of society, this arrangement must be regarded as far from ideal. Such a starting point is at best conducive to inductive theory building which attempts to generalize empirical regularities in order to obtain propositions of a higher level of abstraction. Nevertheless, an attempt is made here to show how the material presented in the following chapters can conveniently be related to the accumulated knowledge of African urban man. Until recently reviewers would deplore the scarcity of empirical material available to the researcher of comparative urbanization and urbanism in Africa. Today it is certainly more pertinent to refer to the lack of a general framework in which to organize data collected in various African contexts (cf. Epstein 1969).

In Africa this lack of a more universal orientation regarding urban phenomena may partially be attributed to the history of African research which has traditionally focussed on the African as he presented himself in day to day life. This was ideally the realm of the social anthropologist, whose emphasis on the individual incorporated in basic units of society such as the family and other face-to-face relationship groups has definitely left its imprint on urban studies in Africa.²⁾ For insight and colourful description of African life in the past, the resulting monographs (e.g. Wilson 1942;

-
- 1) Karl R. Popper claims that "unsere Alltagssprache ist voll von Theorien: Beobachtung ist stets Beobachtung im Licht von Theorien ..." (1969:31).
 - 2) It might be suggested that initially this approach tendentially counter-balanced the more ethnocentric manner in which other classes of newcomers to the African scene came into contact with the indigenous population. Whereas colonial administrators, industrialists and businessmen might categorize their African vis-à-vis stereotypically or even as non-persons, the social anthropologist was basically interested in what others overlooked, the personal qualities of individuals.

Hellman 1948; Mitchell 1959²; Epstein 1961) are invaluable to anyone new to the African scene. Moreover, the rapidity and perhaps the unevenness with which change is taking place in urban Africa becomes tangible when comparing earlier descriptions with present day observations. Although this present study draws on material collected and ordered by such anthropologists and the author is indebted to these pioneers in the field, a more general theory which attempts to explain the position of urban African man from a higher vantage point seems to be a more appropriate introduction to this report.

The selection of relevant theory which will be discussed below has been directed chiefly by the utility of particular approaches and orientations for the purpose at hand and no attempt is made to give a more comprehensive coverage of past and present ideas in the pertinent disciplines. It appears helpful following Albrecht (1972) to divide theory relevant to our study into two types; antecedents and consequences of migration (i.e., migration is the dependent variable in the former, the independent variable in the latter case). Much of the theory of the former type is usually discussed under the heading 'migration', that of the latter type under 'urbanization'. This sequential relationship between the two bodies of theorising is furthermore particularly relevant to African studies for contextual reasons. In Africa the most predominant contributor to urbanization - considered in its purely demographic sense - is net migration.³⁾

The development of migration theory has been a slow process until recently. It was the apparent lack of laws applying to migration which led Ravenstein to present two papers entitled "the laws of migration" in 1885 and 1889 respectively. Although Ravenstein's papers might have had the effect of emphasizing the lawlessness rather than the contrary⁴⁾ - or possibly for exactly this reason - these laws have been a starting point for scholars in the field ever since. Far from constituting a system of integrated propositions, Ravenstein's laws at best represent empirical regularities on international and internal population movements. Nevertheless some of the concepts coined by Ravenstein are still in use today and have shaped the mode of thinking in migration modelling to a great extent. Lee (1969:283)

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- 3) Urbanization or increase in urban population can be accounted for by three factors, all of which operate in the African context.
 1. Natural increase due to higher urban birth to death rates,
 2. Net migration due to in-migration exceeding out-migration, and
 3. Redefinition of urban population as when rural localities are reclassified as urban ones in the course of political annexation or for statistical purposes (cf. Hanna and Hanna 1971:27).

 - 4) Discussion on Mr. Ravenstein's Paper, 1889, Journal of the Royal Statistical Society, 52, p.302, reported by Lee (1969:282).

has summarized Ravenstein's laws under the seven headings: 1) migration and distance, 2) migration by stages, 3) stream and counterstream, 4) urban-rural differences in propensity to migrate, 5) predominance of females among short-distance migrants, 6) technology and migration, 7) dominance of the economic motive.⁵⁾

The distance aspect of migration (cf. heading 1) above) has drawn much attention and led to the development of 'distance' or 'gravitation' models, which seek to predict population distribution in space at a particular moment in time by calculating migration streams and counterstreams between centres of varying attraction. Using the 'principle of least effort' Zipf (1946) suggested that the number of people going from one centre to another would decrease with increasing distance separating the respective centres, thus reflecting the increasing effort to travel long distances. The first simple equation put forward by Zipf was later differentiated by Anderson (1955) among others. Although some of the more recent models in the gravitation series are reputed to have explained approximately 95 per cent of variance (e.g. Galle, Taeuber 1966; Tarver 1961), the sociological interpretation of migration is hardly touched upon (Albrecht 1972: 106ff.). One step in improving the sociological content of 'distance' models was the introduction of what might be referred to as 'social distance'. In various adjustments to exact the gravitation model of migration Stouffer operated with the elements of 'intervening opportunities' (Stouffer 1940) and 'competing migrants' (Stouffer 1962). In yet another effort to add more sociological meaning to ecological models Rose (1958; 1970) related socio-economic status to distance covered during migration. Tarver (1961) uses a set of demographic, economic and social variables in his regression model. Neither this sophistication of the early mathematical formulations of migration principles, nor later modifications have succeeded in adequately compensating for the original lack of theoretical foundation. Another shortcoming of all these models is that explanation of geographic mobility is post hoc facto: distance and direction of migrant movement cannot be predicted in advance.

A further complicating factor in the research of migration is the lack of agreement regarding the scope of concepts used in definitions and classifications of migration and migrants (for lists of definitions see Beijer 1969: 12-13; Hoffmann-Nowotny 1970: 50-52; Albrecht 1972: 23). After reviewing a set of migration definitions Hoffmann-Nowotny (1970: 54) concludes that the only consensus reached between researchers is that not all spatial movements of persons are to be regarded as migration! Considering that dissensus predominates, it might be useful to record the chief moments of disagreement regarding various restrictions in the migration definitions.

5) With the possible exception of item 5, all aspects will be touched upon in later chapters.

a) The distance requirement: A distinction between residential or inter-city, internal (i.e., intra-national) and international mobility is often made.⁶⁾ Not all three types are generally classified as migratory movements. For instance, the distinction between the latter two items has often been regarded as a mere artefact of statistical census notation. It has been observed that migration streams may disregard political boundaries, and on the other hand political restraints may mitigate actual movement. It has been contended that if researchers are in a position to collect their own data or to use more varied data sources this distinction may prove unwarranted.

b) The permanency requirement: Although permanency of migration is often implicitly assumed, this assumption is often disregarded in the testing of propositions with census data, which may be based on observations of movements rather than observations of individuals. For the gravitation models discussed above this distinction may well be unimportant, on the other hand researchers interested in motivational aspects of migration may place more emphasis on the permanency item. - For permanency reasons commuting is usually excluded from the migration definition. This may present a delimitation problem for migration phenomena in the African context where distance between the urban centre and the rural homeland is sufficiently short to permit regular weekend visiting (Mbata 1960; Wilson 1970b:82). Nevertheless the cultural and economic gradient (see below) between home and in-migration area is such that this movement is generally analysed in the light of rural-urban migration.

'Step migration' or migration by stages further complicates the distance and permanency requirements. Migration may comprise one or several movements over varying periods of time. The migrant may initially choose to migrate in this manner or may change his original plans after reaching the first in-migration destination. More often than not these differences are mere analytic distinctions, but theoretically one continuous movement of migrants and a series of

6) Some authors (cf. Hanna, Hanna 1971:27; Caldwell 1969) distinguish between 'out-migration', 'in-migration' and 'immigration'. We should like to add 'emigration' to the list of concepts. So Beijer (1969:13) following Senior refers to migration as the movement of a person or persons involving a permanent change of residence subdivided into *emigration*, movement of individuals across their national boundary, outbound and *immigration*, movement across a national boundary, inbound. Whereas 'emigration' and 'immigration' denote permanency and irreversibility of the migratory movement, the concepts of out-migration and in-migration borrowed from the demographer's vocabulary merely distinguish between the poles of the spatial movement and do not reflect permanency and irreversibility. Although we shall use all four concepts, the terms 'out-migration' and 'in-migration' are possibly more appropriate when describing African migration phenomena.

several movements may distinguish one migration stream from another. The phenomenon of 'circulatory' or 'cyclic migration' (Mitchell 1969a) or, as it is sometimes referred to, 'labour oscillation' (Wilson 1972a,b) has been most widely discussed in the African context and represents another borderline case as regards permanency of migration. Seen at the individual level a migrant may only temporarily migrate from a rural to an urban centre and this movement might therefore rightly be excluded from discussion under a definition requiring permanency. From a demographic viewpoint this type of migration supplies the greater proportion of the urban population to many African cities at any point in time. By virtue of the sheer impact on urban growth - at least on the African continent - circulatory migration merits particular attention in migration research.

c) The cultural gradient requirement: Insisting on a pronounced cultural gradient between the area of emigration or out-migration and the area of immigration or in-migration is largely consistent with the permanency requirement. The relationship between distance and cultural gradient is, however, not necessarily linear. The cultural gradient requirement is set chiefly by researchers of the consequences of migration (e.g., assimilation and adaptation), which will be discussed in the second half of this chapter. The adaptation of immigrants in a novel ethnic context may have prompted this aspect to be explicitly included in migration definitions (cf. Eisenstadt 1954:1). Much of the internal type of migration (inter-city or residential) would not strictly be regarded as migration phenomena if this requirement had to be met. It is even probable that internal or international rural-urban migration would have to be excluded from discussion under the migration heading, especially in contexts where the migrant himself contributes to shaping an emerging society in the immigration context.⁷⁾ This is particularly evident in structurally plural contexts where absorption into the receiving society is limited to one or a few spheres, e.g., the economic sphere (cf. Kuper 1967; Mitchell 1969a:160). The type of international migration incurred by movements of professionals within the limits of international organizations (cf. Richmond 1969:247) might easily be excluded from discussion in terms of migration if the cultural gradient requirement holds.

d) The disruption of physical contact with the area of emigration requirement: This item can be partially derived from the distance, permanency and cultural gradient requirements of migration. It is

7) Bock and Iutaka (1969:353) conclude from their survey of Latin American rural-urban migration that "the process of migration appears to be related to the formation of the structure itself: in other words, the migrants do not enter into a structure but help to form it". Similarly Jackson (1969:8) in his introduction to a reader on migration remarks that "the migrant not only provides the human capital of social change, he is its agent and as such plays a significant part in shaping ideas about the societies in which he lives".

often assumed that with increasing distance, permanence and cultural gradient, physical contact is likely to be disrupted with the area of origin of the migrant. Again, most migration in the African context would have to be excluded if this requirement must be fulfilled, for the "tenacity of urban-rural ties" is characteristic of sub-Saharan migration in particular (cf. Gugler 1969:134).

e) The intentionality requirement: Although not explicitly assuming that man is habitually sedentary, most researchers find it useful to assume that the migrant act is purposive, whereby habitual wandering of nomads and the like is excluded from study. Modern migratory movements are chiefly voluntary and "by definition voluntary migration is motivated" (Taft 1955:5). The intentionality aspect is therefore particularly central to the decision-making approach to migration movements (Beshers, Nishiura 1960/61; Kottwitz, Vanberg 1971/72).

f) The unidirectionality requirement: The unidirectionality requirement again poses the problem of delimitation of the migration movement (cf. Heberle 1955b). If the migration act, independent of the individual migrant, is the unit of analysis this requirement calls for a separate consideration of the movement to an immigration context and the subsequent return migration of the same individual. For instance, in order to adequately interpret African migration phenomena, researchers have been prone to focus on the individual migrant, i.e., analytical unit is the migrant's pattern of migration, which in the case of circulatory migration incorporates at least two-way migration. Similar delimitation difficulties would be encountered when studying other migration processes. In recent years return migration of persons with past *in*-migration and even *in*-migration histories has aroused the interest of migration researchers (Hernández-Alvares 1967; for a methodological discussion see Appleyard 1962). The rapid development of pensioner migration, which generally takes the form of a return migration, has also received special attention in more recent years (Manley 1954; Hitt 1954). For the 'spiralist' (Watson 1964) type of migrant who undertakes several geographic moves in the course of his career, the directional aspect may be irrelevant.

To summarize the requirements which must be fulfilled for a movement of person(s) to be considered migration, one might suggest that dissensus is found in the following areas:

- 1) delimitation of movement in time (i.e., delimitation of analytic units in the migration process).
- 2) delimitation of migration contexts, and
- 3) delimitation of research topics relevant to the migration process.

Hoffmann-Nowotny (1970:50,53) observes that as a result of this definitional dissensus most researchers prefer to stick to a purely operational definition of migration, especially in reports on empirical studies. This in turn may be regarded as a further obstacle to the development of a more general theory of migration.

The need for a precise definition of migration as a prelude to theory building prompted the development of migration typologies. One of the first reknown attempts in this direction was made by Fairchild (1925) and comprised two main criteria: the difference in level of culture between emigration and immigration context and whether or not the movement was peaceful or warlike. Petersen (1958), arguing along the lines of Heberle (1955a) that the most general statements concerning migration should be made in the form of a typology rather than laws because of differential relevant social conditions, refined Fairchild's typology by introducing further dimensions to account for migrants' differential motives and the social causes of migration. The distinction between conservative and innovating migration was introduced to challenge "the usual notion that persons universally migrate in order to change their way of life" (Petersen 1970:67). Critics of Petersen's typology (cf. Hoffmann-Nowotny 1970:60-62) assert, that, having overcome the fallacy of a universal sedentary tendency in developing his typology, Petersen has succumbed to that of universal ecological push. Moreover, the blending of criteria and explanatory dimensions is not permissible in typologies according to Hempel (1952:46-47). - For present purposes both Fairchild's and Petersen's typologies with their slight ethnocentric overtones (Petersen tried to eliminate this when revising Fairchild's dimensions), and the emphasis on historical 'explanation' *between* types yield little for the explanation of migration phenomena *within* types.⁸⁾

A further issue to be resolved at the level of definitions is the relationship between spatial and social mobility. Whereas most definitions of migration concentrate on the spatial aspect, social mobility coincidental to the movement is often implicit. From the motivational aspect this would suggest that a basic causal sequence of 1) aspired social mobility (upward), 2) spatial mobility, 3) actual social mobility (generally upward), is assumed. This basic assumption may date back as far as Ravenstein who asserted a "... desire inherent in most men to 'better' themselves in material respects" (1889:286). Glancing at typologies such as Petersen's one might conclude that although social mobility may be attributed to all types of migration, this need not necessarily be considered as an *upward* movement for the migrant involved (as in the case of Petersen's forced or impelled migration). Even in voluntary migration upward mobility is often regarded as a risk factor. - Under the key word 'mobility' in the Dictionary of Social Sciences, Kolb notes that

in its most general sense, *mobility* denotes movement or the capacity to move. In the social sciences it denotes movement through physical space, sometimes called *physical mobility* or *geographic mobility*; or movement within the system of stratification. If this latter movement represents a change of status and role, particularly in the occupational realm,

8) On similar grounds D.J. Bogue (cited in Jansen 1969:63) suggests that testing hypotheses expressing selectivity principles i.e. distinctions between migrants and non-migrants, would be a more fruitful starting point for the analysis of migration.

without change in social class position, it is called *horizontal mobility*. If such a change in status and role does involve a change in social class position it is called *vertical mobility*, with the sub-classes of *upward mobility* and *downward mobility* (1964:434ff.)

Albrecht (1972:122) reviews research which shows that a relationship between vertical mobility and physical mobility exists and asks whether persons are vertically mobile, *because* they are geographically mobile or if vertical mobility is *always* or *as a rule* the independent variable. He draws the conclusion that the relationship between geographic and vertical mobility has not been resolved to date. In principle all three types of relationship between the phenomena could hold: geographic mobility is the cause of vertical mobility, vertical mobility is the cause of geographic mobility or mutual independence (1972:136). Later Albrecht (1972:138) goes on to emphasize the importance of the particular context in which migration takes place, a positive correlation need not hold on a universal basis. - It is possible that universal upward mobility may well be a fallacy of migration studies which fail to take account of return migration of those who have been particularly successful or unsuccessful in achieving relative upward mobility in the in-migration context. We shall come back to this issue later when discussing Hoffmann-Nowotny's migration theory.

Returning from this digression to definitions and classifications of migration and their role in outlining a theoretical framework for the study of migration, attention is drawn to various aspects of migration which have attracted particular interest in migration research. An attempt at summarizing principle foci of interest is made below.

a) Context studies: Analysis of the particular contexts from which migrants emigrate and immigrate. The cultural background of the giving and receiving society may be regarded as a starting point for explaining international migration (e.g. Eisenstadt 1954). Germani (1964) views such an analysis as an imperative for any migration study. Differentials between emigration and immigration contexts may be characterized by types of social and demographic structure etc.

b) Process studies:

before migration. Processes taking place at the societal and individual level prior to departure include motivational studies and decision-making studies.

after migration. Studies of what is commonly referred to as adaptation or adjustment to the conditions in the in-migration context or assimilation or integration in the receiving society. This aspect falls under the heading 'urbanization' for purposes of this chapter.

c) Change studies:

demographic. Emphasis is placed on mechanisms involved in the

spatial re-distribution of population. The gravitation models discussed above might be grouped here.

development. The implication of spatial mobility for economic development at differing societal levels is examined.

social change. Social mobility as a concomitant of spatial mobility may be regarded as an integral part of social change. - Change and persistence of cultural patterns during the migration processes are viewed in both immigration and emigration contexts.

d) Studies of migrants: Focal point is the individual, group or collectivity involved in the spatial movement from one context to another. The actor represents the link between the emigration and immigration context. He can also be viewed as the mediator of social change. Selectivity of migrants and non-migrants in the emitting context and differentials between immigrants and the local population in the receiving context might be entered under this heading.

Most migration studies select one or a combination of these emphases. In most cases the emphases coincide with a particular unit and/or level of analysis. The partial view of the migration process at one or several points in time from a particular vantage point has led to the development of what Albrecht (1972:109ff.) refers to as partial theories of migration.⁹⁾ Albrecht has shown that many partial theories of migration can be adequately integrated into a life-cycle theory of migration. The most general proposition of this theory is that at specific points in the course of a lifetime actions leading to geographic movements are necessary or habitual (Albrecht 1972:120). A sociological interpretation of geographic mobility is thereby given by relating mobility predisposition to personal characteristics such as age or occupation (cf. Beshers, Nishiura 1960/61; Leslie, Richardson 1961; Tarver 1964). Consensus on the age selectivity of migrants is one of the earliest conclusions drawn by students of migration; integrated into the dynamic life-cycle or career-cycle theory of migration this somewhat trivial finding is given greater explanatory power.¹⁰⁾ Combining the life-

9) Jackson (1969) in his editorial introduction gives some insight into the implicit assumptions, myths and fallacies inherent in migration studies, which also creep into empirical evidence. Partial theories might be viewed as products of some of the 'biased' views of migration phenomena.

10) Individual and family life-cycle theories have been chiefly used as explanatory devices in analysing residential mobility (cf. Leslie, Richardson 1961; Okraku 1971). It is interesting to note that although the majority of contemporary residential mobility studies use Rossi's well known study "Why Families Move?" (1955) as a reference, Rossi himself employed push-pull theory as a theoretical framework as well as the life-cycle explanation.

cycle approach which focusses on the individual (or aggregates of individuals) level of analysis with a more macro-societal approach, such as the push-pull theory of migration, presents a further possibility. Because of its relevance to the present study, we shall discuss the push-pull theory in general and in particular including a version incorporating the peculiarity of the African context. We shall commence with J. Clyde Mitchell's (1969a;176ff.) paradigm of migrant labour in the life-cycle of an African labourer.

In an early well known paper Mitchell (1961) makes a distinction between 'centrifugal' and 'centripetal' tendencies inducing a man to leave home or impelling him to return to the rural home respectively. The centrifugal force works chiefly through economic drives, the centripetal force through the network of social relationships. Mitchell maintains that single-factor explanations of migration are not tenable. Motivations to leave home operate at the three different levels of the normative system, the economic system and the personality of the individual. According to Mitchell, Gulliver's (1957) argument pertaining to the 'last straw' factor contains the essence of the relationship between personal and economic factors involved. Economic factors appear to be the necessary condition. Thus a Durkheimian type of distinction between rate and incidence of migration can be made. For administrative purposes manipulation of economic factors is possibly the best approach to control the rate of migration.¹¹⁾ The rate of labour migration from any particular area is determined by the complex inter-relationship of three factors:

Outcome

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1) Negation of centrifugal (economic) influence by cash cropping or local employment, so that centripetal influences arising from the involvement in a social structure prevail. | Labour migration is absent or infrequent. |
| 2) Oscillating balance between the centrifugal and centripetal influences, so that economic needs cannot be satisfied in the rural areas and people migrate to satisfy their needs. Social obligations in the rural areas force migrants back, where they once again feel the necessity to seek wage-earning occupations. | Labour migration is present. |

11) Gugler (1969;140ff.; 1968:468ff.) disagrees with Mitchell on this issue and points out that 'last straw' factors may be of an economic nature and that there is data to falsify the proposition that economic factors are a necessary condition.

Outcome

- 3) Involvement in the social relationship system in town negating the social obligations in the rural areas, thus reducing the need to return. Ever expanding economic wants linked with prestige systems in town implies that economic pulls are unaltered.
- Labour migration and circulation between town and country cease.

In a later paper Mitchell (1969a:177) argues that labour circulation is consistent with a plural social structure,¹²⁾ but to invoke plurality as a general explanation of labour circulation would almost be tautologous. Characteristic of situations where labour circulation prevails is "an appreciation on the part of the migrant of some disparity between the rights and privileges he can claim at the place where he works and his place of origin" (Mitchell 1969a:177). These rights and privileges are derived essentially from the social and political and not from the economic situation in which the migrant is involved. Labour circulation is

a matter of the calculus of choice. The stage of the life-cycle an individual is at clearly influences the choice he is likely to make. In sociological terms this implies that the balance of economic, political, social and personal factors will vary consistently with the phase of the life-cycle that the individual happens to be at (1969a:178).

I argue, however, that the economic factors in migration are of a different order from the social, political and personal factors. Economic factors provide the necessary conditions for cyclic migration, but economic factors are not *sufficient* conditions for the *circulation* for they do not in themselves explain why migrants return to their tribal areas. For this we need to look to the social, political and personal factors which balance economic factors and attract migrants back to the rural homes periodically (1969a:177-178).

The way in which a sequence of factors may affect the migratory behaviour of an individual where rural and urban systems are relatively disparate are set out by Mitchell in paradigmatic form (see Figure 1). Mitchell comments that although the factors combine in chance patterns for individuals, regularities become apparent when these patterns are aggregated. "... The probability of migrating or of returning varies with the characteristics of individuals, either in the terms of demo-

12) The 'plural' concept will be discussed in greater detail below. In this context van den Berghe (1964:15) speaks of "shuttle capacity" of persons living in plural structures.

graphic attributes, such as age and sex, or in sociological variables such as status and social position" (1969a:180). Shifts in the impact of various factors may also be due to long-term contextual changes, thus altering "the balance of advantages and disadvantages of a man's migrating to town or of staying in town for a year longer" (1969a:180).

The merit of Mitchell's analysis of the African labour circulation phenomenon lies in the juxtaposition of the plural system context and the decision-making migrant individual, and the integration of the repeat migration phenomenon in life-cycle theory and the push-pull model. A basic allowance for differential perception on the part of the individual is made. Moreover the paradigm possesses some predictive power. Open critic of Mitchell's approach is most often directed against the sharp distinction made between the chiefly economic motivation for migration and what is usually lumped together in 'social' reasons for return migration (cf. van Velsen 1963:39; Wilson 1972a:122). It is however convenient to defer this discussion and to include it in comments to Francis Wilson's analysis of migrant labour phenomena.

Wilson commences his analysis by quoting Mitchell (1959) and sets out to balance what he considers a one-sided presentation of labour circulation from the exclusive viewpoint of the migrant by including the play of forces emanating from the migration centre. At the same time Wilson attempts to show that the economic type of pressure is sufficient to interpret the inter-play of forces moving migrants to and from the migration centre and generally avoids the 'social' type of motivation by incorporating it into the economic motif. The peculiarity of the South African context which permits the perpetuation of the labour migration system beyond the economically based duration does however necessitate the inclusion of a dominant 'political' push which is also intimated at in Mitchell's observation of differential rights and privileges of migrants in plural society contexts. - Essentially Wilson's model resembles the typical push-pull model of migration which has chiefly been considered useful when observing rural-urban migration in ahistorical terms. The United Nations Economic Commission for Africa notes that

the 'push and pull' theory has general currency in explaining the phenomenon of urbanization. According to this theory, the push comes from the deteriorating conditions in rural areas forcing migrants to seek a livelihood in towns, and the pull is exerted by the towns to attract rural migrants because of desired and increasing opportunities. A widespread general view is that the earlier urbanization of the industrially advanced countries in America and Europe had been mainly activated by the pull factor, whereas the current urbanization in the less developed countries is activated mainly by the push (1969:143-144).

A general push-pull model accounts for labour oscillation in international contexts such as the dovetailing of seasonal demands for labour. In Figure 2, according to Wilson, force 1 is the seasonal demand for harvest labour in area B.

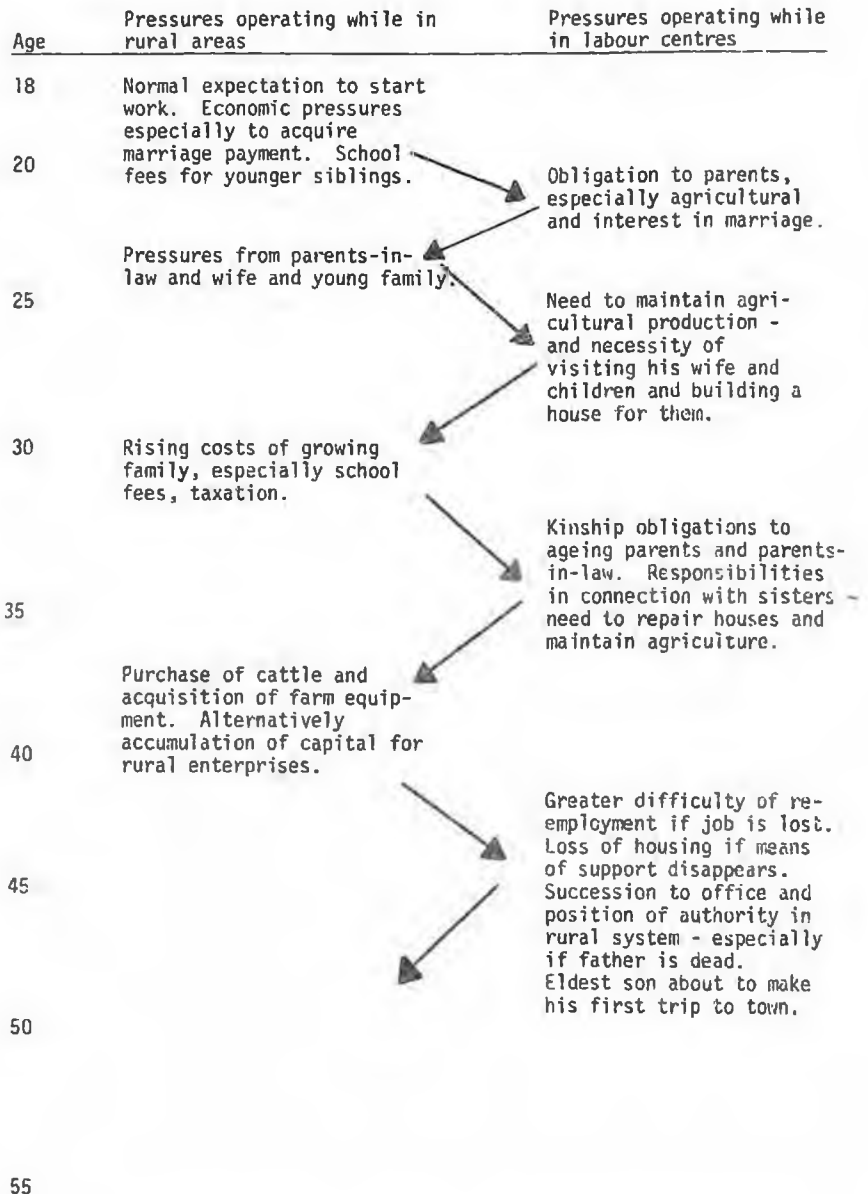


Figure 1 Paradigm of a labour migrant career (Mitchell 1969a:179)

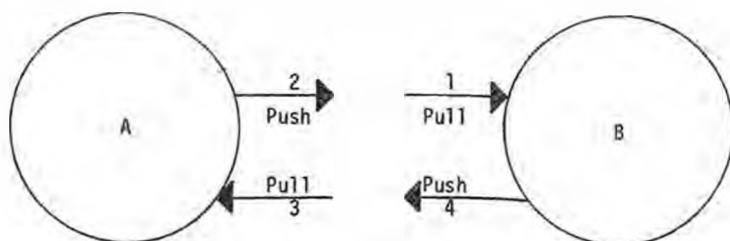


Figure 2 Push-pull model (Wilson 1972b:144)

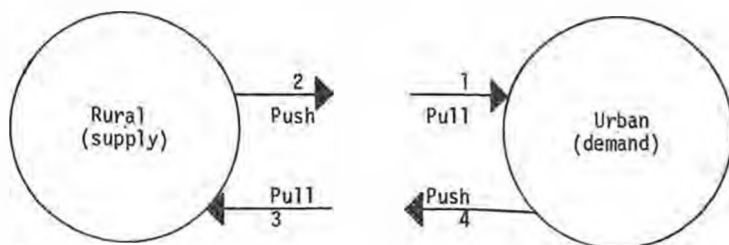


Figure 3 Push-pull model (Wilson 1972b:145)

Force 4 is the push by employers of labour away from the area at the end of the harvest season. Similarly forces 3 and 2 are the seasonal demand and push, respectively, in area A.

Other types of international contexts in which the push-pull model of labour oscillation apply are expanding economies, especially in developing countries where urban subsistence wages are paid. The demand side (B) is an urban industrial centre and the supply side (A) a rural area with a surplus of able-bodied persons (see Figure 3).

Using this basic model and coming nearer home Wilson modifies

Mitchell's paradigm as in Figure 4 below.

Not only are the centripetal forces on the supply side primarily economic, but the concept of opposing forces, pushing and pulling, must be extended to the demand side, for demand may not only pull men to work but may also push them away again. The illuminating diagram which Mitchell has constructed can be modified to illustrate the pressures that produce oscillating migration by putting more emphasis on the economic forces and by adding pressures that employers exert on the demand side (Wilson 1972a: 122).

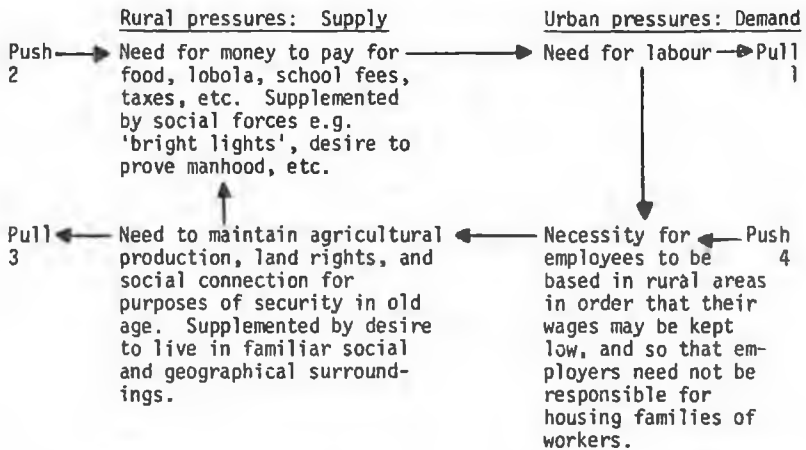


Figure 4 Push-pull model (Wilson 1972a:123, Fig. 10; numbering of forces not in original)

It might be helpful to consider the four forces individually and to indicate what evidence is found on these forces in the literature on African migration.

Force 1 urban pull.

The initial pull to come to town: there is a general consensus

that the dominant factor in bringing men to town are the economic opportunities in town which attract labour. There is however an on-going discussion whether the urban economic pull outweighs the economic push or even other push factors (see the controversy between Harris (1959;1960) and Rita-Ferreira (1960); for a recent review cf. Gould (1974)). New aspirations coupled with economic opportunities are considered to have had the greatest impact on migration rates. The 'bright lights' theory, that is the response to curiosity about town life, has been introduced into the discussion and dismissed by Gulliver in favour of economic factors (Gugler 1969:140).¹³ Another motif frequently stressed by researchers is the freedom sought from the normative restrictions and social control in the village social network (cf. Banton 1957:48-59). A certain degree of anonymity (cf. Heintz 1968²:70ff.) is afforded to migrants in the formal urban structure. Single women such as unmarried mothers, widows, divorcees find scope in an urban environment away from the sheltered rural social system. Marginally integrated persons seek refuge or cover in the informal employment sector in town etc. These types of migrants have attracted much attention in the literature on urban problems such as prostitution, illegitimacy, alcoholism, illicit brewing, over-crowding, unemployment, delinquency and crime (e.g. Little 1973; Hellman 1948).

The pull keeping men in town for an indefinite period of time as labour oscillation gives way to stabilization is described by Wilson as follows:

... as the economy develops, the cities become richer, workers' wages rise and society is able to afford social security against sickness, accident, unemployment and old-age. Hence the economic pull back to the rural area fades away and all that is left is the 'call of the wild', the spiritual pull which, without economic reinforcing, tends to vanish within a single generation (1972b:151).

In 1961 Mitchell stressed that urban social factors may in future present a counterbalance to the 'centripetal' cues evident to date. He has suggested that information is needed to determine the sort of social systems in town which successfully hold persons in opposition to the similar pulls of social systems in the rural area. Also the inhibitions to the development of such a system must be scrutinized. The causes of continued labour migration should be sought as much in the labour centres as in the rural areas.

13) Lerner's (1958) concept of 'rising expectations' in developing countries readily comes to mind in this context. Similarly, evidence from various parts of Africa suggests that migration intensity reflects the degree of rural-urban disparity (cf. Prothero 1964:204-206).

Force 2 rural push.

It is a known fact that increasing poverty due to rapid growth unaccompanied by change in agricultural methods has exerted a major pressure in many societies since the development and widespread use of remedial and especially preventive medicine. The resulting land pressure and, in its extreme form, inaccessibility of arable land - as among the South African Ciskei - induces men to migrate (Wilson, Mafeje 1963; van der Horst 1964). Measures to reduce the rural push may be initiated in many developing African countries, but have generally proved to be insufficient. Wilson (1972b:155), for instance, lists overpopulation, the system of land tenure and lack of capital as the three most important reasons for failure in developing the South African reserves. Moreover there is some indication that succession rights to land may also play a role in pushing men to town (cf. Harris 1959; Rita-Ferreira 1960).

Related to dire poverty is the simple need to earn some money for cash needs which cannot be achieved in a rural subsistence economy. Gugler (1968;1969) in an historical overview names forced labour and as a more subtle means of coercion, the imposition of taxes, as the initial cause of labour migration in Africa. In due course from the response to taxation¹⁴) or possibly to labour policies (cf. Harris 1959) the economic motif has achieved a valence and momentum of its own and many researchers all over Africa report that economic necessity or aspirations promoted their informants to come to town (e.g. Leslie 1963: 2, 104; Rouch 1956:128; Mitchell 1959:22; Balandier 1952:26; Southall 1952). In many areas cash has substituted labour service and other more traditional forms of bridewealth (cf. Garbett 1967:310). The importance of bridewealth as an incentive to emigrate is however differently assessed by various authorities (cf. Gulliver 1957; Banton 1957:52; Skinner 1960:389). - There is no doubt that an economic push from the rural area exists, if it is in fact justified, is another question which we shall examine more closely when discussing the effects of labour migration in the study context.

The degree with which the economic pattern has been superimposed by a cultural pattern is no less controversial (cf. Gugler 1969: 138; Mitchell 1959:30), but Rouch (1956:194) reports from Ghana that migrating has become a tradition carrying prestige and all men expect to go there at least once in a lifetime. According to van Velsen (1961:236) labour migration is accepted as a way of life among the Tonga in Malawi. Similarly Southall (1952:151) stresses the prestige factor involved in young men migrating. Shapera (1947:116) reports that labour migration has become widely regarded as a form of initiation to manhood (cf. also

14) It is interesting to note in this regard that taxation spurred emigration for diverse reasons: some persons left the rural areas to obtain money to pay taxes while others left to avoid having to pay taxes or to be taxed at lower urban rates (Hanna, Hanna 1971:39).

Mayer 1961:99ff.). Among the Mossi of Ober-Volta "labour migration has become so institutionalized ..that its characteristics are familiar to everyone, and there is consensus as to why, how and when certain persons should migrate" (Skinner 1965:66).

Another push element already touched upon is the dwindling or lack of opportunity to rise in a society based on a traditional value system where status is highly dependent on heredity, age and/or sex. In the rural context of today Hanna and Hanna suggest that "downward mobility is often more frequent than upward because populations are increasing but the number of high status positions in rural societies is relatively stable" (1971:44). Garbett stresses the importance of lineage and access to prestigious positions in traditional society in migration decisions and gives strong evidence that as "the proportion of domestic heads in each kinship category who are labour migrants increases, the remoter becomes their relationship to hamlet heads" (1967:312). Likewise the pressure to migrate exerted on the individual, whose position in the rural community has become difficult or untenable, has been mentioned above.

In an attempt to bring all these push factors into a single framework (cf. Gugler 1968; 1969), Gulliver asserts that the prime factor of economic necessity is almost always the real cause, other factors are of the 'last straw' type and merely affect the timing of departure. Mitchell's distinction between rates and incidence has been discussed in detail above. It would appear that economic disparity plays the tune and other factors merely support in harmony.¹⁵⁾ - From the discussion of forces 1 and 2 one of the so-called shortcomings of push-pull models is demonstrated: it is difficult to assign various items exclusively to the urban pull or to the urban push. Herein lies the strength of the system according to Wilson: only when both supply push and demand pull reinforce each other is labour spatially distributed according to economic needs.

Force 3 rural pull.

An economic incentive to bring men home from town is given if agricultural development has progressed sufficiently to outbalance the extra demands made by increasing population and in turn its increasing

15) Compare Albert's very comprehensive proposition on propensity to migrate, which states that:
Personen u.a. dann wandern, wenn sie ihre ökonomischen Bedürfnisse in dem Gebiet ihrer Herkunft nicht in zufriedenstellender Weise erfüllt bzw. erfüllbar sehen, gleichzeitig aber annehmen bzw. wissen, dass es andere Stellen gibt, die zur Erfüllung dieser Bedürfnisse besser geeignet sind, andererseits die von ihnen internalisierten Normen der Mobilität gegenüber entweder neutral oder positiv sind und ferner die Qualität und Quantität der sozialen Beziehungen am und zum bisherigen Ort nicht derart sind, dass ihre Aufgabe eine ernsthafte soziale und Persönlichkeitskrise für die Betroffenen bewirken würde (1972:44-45).

needs and aspirations for economic return. According to the pertinent literature most African rural contexts are in no position to exercise an effective pull to stop initial migration to town.

A rural pull which may work prematurely, i.e. prompt a definite return to the area of origin before pensionable age, or even prevent initial emigration, is access to a prestigious status position at home. For instance in the Korekore Valley in Rhodesia "men who continue in wage labour for as long as possible appear to be those, who, even if they wished, could not advance their position within the traditional society" (Garbett 1967:312). Garbett shows that "men who are competing for positions, .. are more likely to forgo labour migration earlier than others, .. the stronger their claims and the closer they are to achieving positions of authority and prestige within the chiefdom" (1967:315). Although some target workers may return to their rural homes early in life, generally the pull back to the rural areas is felt most strongly at pensionable age. Following Wilson (1972a,b) Force 3 can be characterized as follows: The pull back to the land derives essentially from the social security provided by the 'traditional' society to the migrant who has gone off to work in town. In most cases when men migrate from rural to urban areas for the first time, the work they are required to do is to be found near the bottom of the economic pyramid: the jobs tend to be unskilled, low-status, and poorly paid. Often there is little by way of social security in the form of unemployment insurance, accident compensation, sickness benefits or old age pensions. Security is afforded via the extended family network in the 'traditional' society. Thus maintaining links with villages at home ensures that this security will be forthcoming in times of need. Links can be maintained by sending back remittances and returning home regularly or at times of need and in some instances by seeing that allotted land is attended to. Thus a man is sure that his land will be reserved for him in times of need or at old age. An emotional security is supplied by knowing that a man has a place where he can die in peace and be buried by his own people.

Van Velsen writing on the Tonga in Northern Malawi is often cited in this connection:

... When Tonga migrants eventually retire to their village, they do not fall back upon the security of a tribal social system which happens to have continued during their absence; the migrants themselves, during their absence, have been contributing actively and consciously to its continuance because they know that they may have to rely on it when they are no longer usefully employed in their urban habitat ... the fundamental fact (is) that the majority of Tonga working abroad look to the economic and social system of their tribal area for their ultimate security ... The labour migrant sees his contributions of cash and goods to the rural economy as a kind of insurance premium: 'How can we expect our *abali* (kin, friends) to help us later when we are old, if we do not help them now?' (1961: 233-237).

As Wilson (1972b:155) points out the strength of the rural pull is increasingly problematic where rural poverty has set in. This is especially evident in areas where there is insufficient arable land to distribute among returning migrants. In the study context we shall see that land rights are at a premium and are especially hard to come by when persons have not maintained rural ties in the past.

Force 4 urban push.

The urban push can be subdivided into economic factors operating *during* a migrant career and at the *end* of it. In the course of a migrant career seasonal fluctuation in labour demands might send a migrant home periodically, for instance at the end of contracts. Periodic returns to the rural area during a migrant career can also be considered as:

an economic response by employers in situations, particularly common in developing economies, where the losses incurred by a high annual rate of turnover are outweighed by the gains to be had in employing workers who not only have a supplementary income from the land, but whose families do not require housing, water, sanitation, electricity and all the social infrastructure needed to support life in town. In other words by hiring oscillating migrants, employers are able to pay a lower wage for subsistence than they would be able to do were the families utterly dependent upon the workers' earnings and were they having to meet the higher urban costs of living (Wilson 1972b:149).

Even if a migrant has an opportunity to bring his family to town with him, urban sojourn and accommodation is often tied to employment and forfeited whenever a person loses his job. Lack of unemployment insurance and concomitant economic necessity may force a man back to his area prematurely.

Towards completion of a migrant career the labourer is 'pensioned off' to the rural area for good and makes no further demands on urban infrastructure. The impossibility of subsisting in town, where rents have to be paid and food must be purchased without a corresponding income, forces a man to return to the area of origin where these things are for free or at least easier to come by. Legislation bolstering this economic push frequently helps to send those persons who are no longer gainfully employed in town back to their respective areas of origin in spite of their ability and willingness to meet urban expenditure items.

According to Wilson the strength of the system depends on the coincidence and mutual reinforcement of push and pull forces 2 and 1, 4 and 3 respectively in Figure 4 above. The system becomes more likely to collapse as any one of these four push or pull forces weakens (1972a:123). Over time with economic development there is a tendency for forces 1 and 2 to strengthen whilst the opposing set of forces 3 and 4 weaken, i.e.

labour oscillation gives way to labour stabilization in town (Wilson 1972b:149-151). In order to artificially strengthen forces 3 and 4 a 'legislative prop' (Wilson 1972a:123) is necessary to perpetuate oscillation, when the economic forces alone no longer exert sufficient pressure to keep people in perpetual motion. The notion that the labour oscillation system is only valid for a certain time period adds a dynamic perspective to the model and provides a basis for context comparison. Wilson argues that it is the duration of the institution which characterizes the labour oscillation system in South Africa. Moreover, the South African labour oscillation phenomena have every possibility of persisting longer than newer ones such as current labour migration in Europe. Whereas history has shown that the forces in the lower half of Wilson's model lose their strength in time, particular contextual conditions¹⁶⁾ in South Africa hold which bolster this strength. In other words, the *economic* push-pull forces which do not mutually reinforce each other in the manner required by the model, are replaced by *political* forces.

In connection with the economic push-pull model a reference to the backward-sloping supply curve proposition in sub-Saharan Africa should be made. This proposition is based on the assumption that migrant workers are target workers and when a specific cash need is satisfied a migrant will return to the rural home until another want arises to push him onto the labour market again. Thus the circular movement between town and rural area depicted in Mitchell's paradigm is supposedly brought about. The earlier the cash is earned, the sooner the migratory cycle is completed and the migrant worker is removed from the labour force. It has been suggested that the assumption of the target worker might simply have been wishful thinking on the part of employers for it conveniently provided a justification for low wages in order to keep workers in town sufficiently long to meet the labour demand (cf. Hanna, Hanna 1971: 38). Berg (1961:468) describes how a similar viewpoint was aired by eighteenth century industrialists in England.¹⁷⁾ Gugler argues that seen over longer periods even when the individual labour supply function is backward-sloping, the *aggregate* labour supply function need not follow suit. Both individual and aggregate supply function would assume identical patterns only in the case of the labour size being a constant proportion of the total population. Thus, although target workers might spend less time in employment and even earn a proportion of their cash from sale of produce in the rural areas, higher wages will have the effect of attracting *additional* workers to town. Which of these opposing effects will be dominant cannot however be ascertained a priori (Gugler 1969:152; also Berg 1961:485).

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- 16) What is designated as a contextual condition here (e.g. model external political forces, conditions for stabilization) will usually be referred to as a marginal condition in this study. Marginal conditions include 'historical input' which may be "conceived as the sum of all social processes which have led to the formation of a social system, i.e. to the development of differentially stratified structures related to common values" (Bautz, Held 1972:84).
- 17) It is possibly important to remember that the myth of the 'target worker' still persists. One indication of its tenacity is the invariably recurring *denial* of the myth, even in recent reports on African labour.

The backward-sloping supply curve debate has lost some of its momentum recently due to rising expectations and a more constant need for cash on the supply side, which tend to keep migrant labour in town during the better part of a working lifetime. The targets of yesterday, objects like the frequently cited bicycle, clothes etc., can be defined more generally as means to attaining a permanently higher standard of life, predominantly in the rural areas (Elkan 1960:131). Today there is an oversupply of unskilled labour, and fear of unemployment at a later stage prevents workers from leaving their jobs so that "the target workers are in the process of being eliminated" and "wage rises will mobilize additional workers" (Gugler 1969:154). Policy makers are faced with a dilemma, because wage rises for political and social reasons could increase unemployment¹⁸⁾ and the attractiveness of stabilization of labour in town. A concomitant shift of the locus of meaningful consumption and investment from the rural area to town might also be foreseen. Meanwhile the growth of Africa's cities are already outstripping the efforts made to provide infrastructure for the steady rural influx to town.

In conclusion to this discussion of labour circulation theory a few comments on Mitchell's and Wilson's approaches are pertinent. Firstly, whereas Mitchell's paradigm depicts each circular movement (which we shall refer to as 'migration cycle') in the course of a migrant career, Wilson has collapsed the series of cycles and shows only the initial rural-urban movement and the last return home to the rural area at retirement in his model, i.e. the first half of the first cycle and the last half of the last migration cycle. By repeating Wilson's model for every migration cycle occurring in the course of a migrant career, the telescopic view of oscillating labour is once again brought back to its full dimensions.

Secondly, an analytic distinction between various types of migration cycles can be made and this is particularly important to this study. Although each return trip may be identical in outward appearance and form, we might distinguish between *intermediate* return trips and the *final* return trip at the end of a migrant career. The distinction refers only to the *significance* of the particular return journey. In former days, when travel was difficult and costly in terms of time and effort involved, a home visit meant leaving one's job either with the intention of staying at home for good or possibly of returning at a later date to look for another job. This pattern is also prevalent among mine workers who are contract bound to return home at the end of each contract period, before coming forward to be recruited for a further term of employment. Today with increased means of transportation the duration of the return visit may be reduced and the infrequent home visits of former days can be replaced by a series of short frequent visits. The various obli-

18) See also Todaro's (1969) economic behavioural model of rural-urban migration, in which the decision to migrate is functionally related to the urban-rural real income differential adjusted for the probability of obtaining an urban job. Todaro notes that it may well be economically rational in the long run for a migrant to come to town and swell the ranks of the un- or under-employed for a certain period of time.

gations at the home area recorded by Mitchell under 'pressures operating while in labour centres' can be fulfilled in the short and long leaves given to urban workers in the course of their service. The change in significance between the former and current types of migration cycles are most obvious on the urban side of the calculus. A migrant need not lose his stake in town each time he returns to visit his rural home, he can keep his job and accommodation. It is not clear from Mitchell's commentary on his paradigm if the rural sojourns he had in mind were lengthy visits coinciding with the termination of a job held in town or simply leaves of absence while still holding down a job in town. This distinction may be irrelevant for Mitchell's paradigmatic illustration of a migrant labour career. One might however presume, that the evidence on which he based his paradigm, are reports on life histories of migrants who made several trips to town and tried their luck in different jobs on each of these trips.

Thirdly, one of the implicit assumptions of labour oscillation or circulation is that it must cease to make way for stabilization in town. One of the aims of this study is to show that a black and white picture of *either* labour circulation *or* stabilization need not hold: an intermediate stage somewhere between oscillation and stabilization is encountered in our study context. To illuminate the mechanisms which maintain the delicate balance and to detect any signs of the balance tipping to one or the other extreme is one of the aims of this study.

From the exposé above it should be clear that to a certain extent Wilson has overcome many of the shortcomings attributed to the common push-pull models of migration by ensuring firstly that individual and system levels can be considered within the same framework, secondly by sufficiently differentiating the force constellations so that push-pull factors can be attributed to both in-migration and emigration contexts at any one point in the migration process and thirdly in not limiting the generality of the analytical framework. The last is achieved by a comparison of contexts in which the migrant labour phenomena fit model prescriptions and by applying a time perspective to the model.

Critique raised against the push-pull model is generally aimed at the undue emphasis placed on materialistic incentives for migration and the assumption of the purposive-rational behaviour of individuals in a system. Byerlee (1974:549) claims that push-pull theories do not rigorously establish a relationship between economic variables and migration. It is merely assumed that rates of migration depend on the magnitude of the rural-urban income differential. More importantly, push-pull theories do not address important policy issues. Furthermore it is argued that a certain amount of circularity of explanation is caused by identical factors exerting push and pull forces (Taylor 1969:99). Along the same lines Jackson (1969:7) maintains that when analysing the causes of migration, it is essential to evaluate both subjective and objective elements in the situation of the migrant and his appreciation of it. Germani (1964) warns against oversimplification of the migration process. For purposes of a macroscopic analysis the push-pull model may suffice, but for a more differentiated study a split-level analysis is suggested. Consider also that Petersen's (1958) typology distinguishes between the emigrant's

motives and the social causes of emigration. The former have little effect once migration has reached the stage of a social movement.

It would appear that objections to the push-pull model can be couched in terms of a general negation of explanations located at higher levels of abstraction. The supposed disadvantages can quite easily be seen as advantages when viewed in terms of parsimony of explanatory factors. To use the 'black box' analogy in terms of a systems approach: if for instance in analysing a system a particular process can adequately be explained in terms of input and output mechanisms, the intermediate mechanisms at the level of the individual migrant may be left unobserved as if in a black box. If however, for the sake of sheer scientific curiosity, a researcher wishes to illuminate black box mechanisms, he is at liberty to do so. At the same time he should be fully aware that the knowledge gained thereby is not essential to explaining system processes passing through the black box. Antagonists on the other hand may retort that system processes are not actually meaningfully interpreted until the black box is opened and its intricate mechanisms revealed.

In the second part of this chapter we shall concentrate on the consequences of migration. The migration act is now considered to be temporally antecedent and the determinant variable. The processes tied up with the absorption of the migrant, once he has reached what is supposedly his destination, is pushed to the foreground and the focus is shifted onto the potential immigrant and the receiving society or the immigration context in general. There is so much literature available on this theme, that we shall only select few works to illustrate some points of view which have immediate relevance for this study. Generally speaking, much of the theory and research dealing with consequences of migration can be subsumed under the headings of absorption, adjustment, acculturation, adaptation, assimilation, integration and so forth. Problems of definition are pronounced, so that a conceptual clarification is usually necessary at the outset of works dealing with this topic. Some of these concepts have been extended to blanket terms to cover whole series of changes starting from the first contact of the migrant with the host society to complete invisibility (e.g. 'acculturation' or 'absorption' as employed by Eisenstadt (1954); 'integration', which has fewer ethnocentric overtones, has been adopted as a blanket term by some researchers). Contrarywise some scholars have preferred to spell out the various stages of the change process or adjustment in differing spheres of contact between migrant and receiving society by using distinct terms. The latter type of conceptualization emphasizes the possibility of an uneven change process. Assimilation (to follow Price's (1969) choice of general concept) theory sets out to explain the interactions between in-migrants and host society in the course of time. Apart from the definitional dissensus another major problem besetting theory building is encountered in the dynamic or process character of the explanandum. Biases to objectively approaching the subject are given in the arbitrary delineation of the immigrant act, and related to

this, in the definition of 'perfect' assimilation, which is subject to the varying influences of the spirit of the day which find expression in current ideologies and immigration policy. One might suggest that the delineation problem is chiefly responsible for definitional dissensus right from the start. Gordon (1973³:350) refers to this type of bias when observing that theorists have often confused what *has* happened with what *should* happen, i.e. descriptive models are used indiscriminately as goal models when explaining absorption of immigrants.

Assimilation theory covers interactions on various societal levels and usually includes some psychological elements as well as contributions from other social science domains. Price (1969) in his review of assimilation literature discusses various typologies and classificatory schemes which seek to cover this process. Explanation of post-migration processes in terms of sequential stages of adaptation is especially popular and particularly suited to grasping the dynamism produced by the action-reaction sequence between immigrant and host society (e.g. Richardson 1967). These classificatory sequences might be considered the counterpart of what has been referred to as the partial theory of life-cycle above; analogously the age variable finds its counterpart in the duration of residence in the immigration context. To pursue the likeness further, the influence of marginal conditions such as the geographic context is equally important to life-cycle theory and sequential theory of assimilation: context differentials tend to diminish the predictive strength of sequential adaptation.

Another bone of contention which is particularly relevant for our study refers to whether 'cultural assimilation' precedes 'structural assimilation' or vice versa. Following Gordon (1973³:361ff.) 'cultural assimilation' - frequently called 'acculturation' - refers to the absorption of the cultural behaviour patterns of the host society. 'Structural assimilation' on the other hand, to the entrance of the immigrants and their descendants into the social cliques, organizations, institutional activities, and general civic life of the receiving society. A further distinction between activities of the general civic life and those creating personal friendship patterns is made, the former usually develop secondary relationships of a relatively impersonal and segmental type, the latter lead to primary relationships which tend to be warm, intimate and personal. Gordon speaking for the US context asserts that although behavioural assimilation has taken place to a considerable degree, structural assimilation has been retarded. The attitudes of both the majority and the minority groups and the interactions of these attitudes have been largely responsible for this situation. Cultural assimilation is likely to be the first type of assimilation to occur and may continue indefinitely even when none of the other types of assimilation occur simultaneously or later. Once structural assimilation has occurred, either simultaneously *with* or subsequent *to* acculturation, all other types of assimilation will follow as a matter of course (Gordon 1964:71ff.).

Another promising type of approach, which has been applied in the Australian context but might be equally relevant for African immigration, is Martin's (1965) suggestion that the optimum degree of adaptation might

vary according to the immigrant type.

As regards internal migration, career and life-cycle patterns are frequently used to estimate potential for settling or moving on. Social mobility differentials between migrants and non-migrants (e.g. Goldstein 1955) has drawn the attention of students of intra-national as well as international immigration. Explanation of differential participation of migrants in local associations is sought in their migration history and socio-economic background (e.g. Zimmer 1970; for Africa Little 1957).

The consequence par excellence of African migration, which is almost exclusively of the rural-urban type (national and international boundaries are of secondary importance) is *urbanization*. We shall therefore discuss all theorising on post-migration phenomena under the urbanization heading. The chief emphasis in assimilation studies in Africa is placed on the cultural gradient or discontinuity between rural and urban context and the effects of radical change of milieu to which the migrant is exposed upon arrival in the destination context. Concept formation in urbanization studies has remained a problem and to this day there is neither consensus on the essential characteristics of a city (cf. Miner 1967:3ff.) nor on the ideal process of urbanization (cf. Hauser 1957:128ff.). Moreover, there is some debate as to whether 'old world' models of urbanization processes are applicable to 'third world' African ones (cf. Kuper 1967; McGee 1971).

Within Africa itself the variation in urbanization phenomena has been recognised as a major impediment to generalization from empirical regularities. What have variously been referred to as 'extrinsic factors' (Southall 1961:6ff.), 'external conditions' or 'imperatives' (Mitchell 1960), 'structural determinants' (Schwab referring to Epstein in his comment to Epstein 1969:275) among others are considered all-important and tend to render each study context unique. Mitchell (1960) lists political and legal provisions, demographic features such as urban population structure, instability of residence and heterogeneity of urban population as setting the framework within which urban Africans must act. Mitchell argues that these factors are external to the social scientist and must therefore be taken for granted by him. Pendleton (Kileff, Pendleton 1975: 13) in his editorial introduction to 'Urban Man in Southern Africa' would like to suggest that these factors are external because they influence urban Africans' lives and are beyond their immediate control. Efforts at systematizing marginal conditions have been made by Southall and Epstein. Southall's (1961:6-10) distinction between the old established, slowly growing 'A' towns and the new populations of mushroom growth in 'B' towns has stood the test of time. The description of these two types of towns might be useful to readers not familiar with the African urban scene.

Towns of type 'A' are typically characterized by a more or less indigenous population core of considerable homogeneity, occupations are diverse in a setting which is predominantly clerical and commercial rather than industrial. Housing policy is marked by a permissive, laissez-faire attitude of local authorities. On the other hand, the newer centres of

type 'B' consist in the extreme case of a totally immigrant African population, which may be to a considerable extent of distant origin. The break between town and country is sharp and virtually excludes the subsistence basis of rural life. The most industrialized territories with the largest White populations belong to type 'B'. Administrative control in towns of type 'B' is close and appears to the immigrants to be exercised entirely by a dominant ethnic group of foreign origin and markedly different race. There are clear-cut distinctions between clerical, skilled and unskilled workers in the occupational structure. The provision of housing is tied almost exclusively to large business concerns or to local and central governmental agencies. Chiefly, because responsibility for housing has been assumed, varying degrees of control of movement to towns is exercised.

It is readily seen that towns of West Africa are predominantly of the 'A' type, whilst much of sub-Saharan, particularly Central and Southern African urbanization is of the 'B' type. Epstein's (1969:253-4) strictures of Southall's typology refer to the simplistic view of African urbanization inherent in the broad contrast between geographic regions. An attempt to order the partially overlapping and inter-related factors characterizing 'A' and 'B' towns is made by collapsing them into three sets of determinants of urban social structure: 1) the industrial structure, 2) the civic structure and 3) the demographic imperative, a concept borrowed from Mitchell (Epstein 1969:249ff.).

Returning from this excursion to marginal conditions of African urbanization we shall use Schwirian and Prehn's threefold definition of urbanization classes as a starting point for the discussion of urbanization theory with particular emphasis on African urbanization.

First, urbanization is regarded as a process of radiation of ideas and practices from the urban centers into surrounding hinterlands. Second, urbanization is viewed as the increase in modes of behavior and in problems considered to be essentially urban. Finally, urbanization is portrayed as the process of population concentration in which the ratio of the urban population to the total population increases (1962:812).

The first class of urbanization has been of special interest in Africa as the increase in communication in more recent times has brought even the remotest areas into contact with urban culture which - at least in sub-Saharan Africa - is tantamount to foreign culture. Modern ideas, behavioural patterns and new aspirations have swept over the hinterlands from urban settlements miles away and circular migration has been one of the chief determinants of urbanization used in the sense of this first definitional class. Rural anthropology and sociology have been particularly interested in registering the social change taking place in the rural areas since the onset of urbanization in Africa (e.g. Watson 1958; Skinner 1960; van Velsen 1961; closer to home a longitudinal study of change in a Shona ward over several decades: Garbett 1960 and Chavunduka 1970).

The second class of urbanization has received singular attention in Africa (for an overview cf. Gutkind 1962; Little 1971) and has frequently been referred to as 'urbanism' in order to avoid confusion with the third class of definition (e.g. Anderson 1964; Brees 1969; Meadows, Mizruchi

1969). "Urbanism as a way of life" dates back to Wirth (1938) and refers to behaviour adequate in the context of the city which is defined as a relatively large, dense and permanent settlement of heterogeneous individuals. Urbanism in Africa has a comparatively short history - with the exception of some 'A' type towns in West Africa (cf. Bascom 1955;1959) - and one might query if the permanent settlement criterium is actually fulfilled seeing that population turnover due to circular migration is often extremely high. Similar to the early urban studies carried out in Wirth's days, 'urbanism' has tended to evoke a negative image in Africa. The abrupt onset of the rural-urban movement especially in sub-Saharan Africa might indeed have given rise to some disintegration of traditional institutions, in particular the central institution of the African family, and has led to social problems of crime, delinquency, unemployment, poverty, slum development, prostitution etc. (cf. Gutkind 1962) and in so far the negative connotation may have been well founded. Until recently the adaptation of the migrant to urban life was regarded as a negative process beset with traumatic experiences of culture shock and anomie. Due to the discontinuity between urban and rural culture African society was considered as being in varying states of disequilibrium which could only be overcome by gradually adjusting the novel urban elements with traditional elements of culture. - The researcher might have been substantially supported in his negative approach to the urban milieu by the migrant's own view of cities and urban life (particularly in Southern and East Africa, cf. Mayer's comment in Little 1963:21). Modern African fiction emphasizes the distinctive difference between the urban and rural areas and it is often the latter which is symbolic for all that is good and has value in life. Reports from varying contexts agree that it is commonplace for second and third generation urban Africans to send their children to be socialized in the rural areas where they will not be exposed to the evil influences of town life.

Two further factors have contributed to this negative approach to urban studies. The urban research field was first occupied by anthropologists who were more accustomed to studying tribal man in small-scale rural society. As Gluckman observed in 1961: "The tradition of anthropology is still 'tribalistic', and with it goes a tendency to make the tribe and the tribesman the starting point of analysis" (1961:69). It was therefore natural to define urbanism in negative terms of tribalism and to measure adaptation to urban life as a movement away from the rural pole on a rural-urban type dichotomy or continuum. The application of what Reissman (1964:123) describes as "so-called theories of contrast" such as folk-urban, Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft dichotomies have currency in the study of social change, though their usefulness as poles on a rural-urban continuum has been the subject of a heated debate more recently (cf. Pahl 1968 among others.). The tribal pole of the continuum was readily definable: "A tribe in the rural areas is a group of people united in a single social and political system, sharing a common set of beliefs and values ..." (Mitchell 1959:30) and movement away from tribal life was referred to as 'detrribalization'.

A second related factor explaining why the rural pole could more

readily be used as a fixpoint from which to measure social change, is due to the diffuseness of what was found at the opposite end of the continuum. The recency of African urbanization had left the urban pole largely undefined. 'Westernization', 'Europeanization', 'civilization' were concepts used to express the essence of urbanism in Africa, the "so-called" end product of being urbanized" (Grant 1969:2), - which had by and large been imported from outside. The ethnocentrism inherent in this conceptualization has since been recognised (cf. Magubane 1971), and following the suit of researchers in other developing countries (e.g. Kahl 1968) preference is given to the term 'modernization' as a reference concept today. Although it is still valid that emerging urban African value systems have and continue to orient themselves toward 'European' ones (e.g. Wilson 1942; Hellman 1956, 1971; Kuper 1965; Mitchell 1959²; Mitchell, Epstein 1959), it has been emphasized that this is purely situational, the reference for social change *happens* to be 'western' or 'European'. Furthermore, 'modernization' may be regarded as a more global, higher order concept than 'westernization', 'Europeanization' and 'civilization' etc. By 'modernization' we might understand the adoption of the attitudes, values and life style of the mainstream of contemporary civilization, it is "the social process of which development is the economic component" (Lerner 1967:21).

Another also related explanation for the definitely rural bias in earlier conceptualizations of urbanization may be understood in the temporal relationship between migration and urbanization. Migration in Africa is an immediate precursor of urbanization in the sense that every urbanite is a former migrant, "historically speaking, th(e) 'fully urban' category has developed out of the 'migrant category': its members are ex-migrants, or children or grandchildren of migrants" (Mayer 1964:580). The difficulty of defining the receiving *context*, let alone the receiving *society*, tends to make more general models of absorption less useful as a tool for studying African urbanization processes. The acculturation concept is somewhat more pliable than other blanket terms when used in connection with the qualification 'European', 'western-industrialized', 'modernized' etc. Furthermore the sectorial integration of migrants in European settlements implied that there was often a void in the urban African social system, which might easily be filled with traditional elements for the want of any other. Thus a 'rus in urbe' situation might easily arise and permit comparisons with urban villages on a broader basis. In other words, within the framework structured by external determinants beyond the sphere of his influence, the migrant himself was largely responsible for shaping the very urban environment to which he was to adapt. From the migrant's viewpoint, one might suggest that the rural frame of reference appeared closer, even when used in its negative emphasis, than that of the remote European majority group in the urban areas, whose values were largely inaccessible in both the material and immaterial sense.

Thus a model of 'detrribalization' evolved which assumed that, when arriving in town the immigrant oriented himself by traditional tribal behavioural patterns and then gradually abandoned tribal roles and norms altogether in the process of acculturation. Chief stricture of this 'one-way' model of adaptation to urban life was its assumption of continuous change on a one-dimensional rural-urban continuum. The fact that a large

proportion of in-migrants were found to be "in town but not of it" (Mayer 1961), leading lives fully absorbed in rural subcultures, disapproved its usefulness as a research instrument.

The notion that the urban social system was to be studied in its own right (cf. Epstein 1964) and that the urban pole should be used as a starting point was first explicitly propagated by Gluckman in his seven year research plan of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute in 1945. An African townsman was to be regarded primarily as a townsman and only secondarily as a tribesman (Gluckman 1961:69). According to what was later referred to as the 'alternation' model by Mayer (1962) an African is 'detrribalized' the moment he leaves his tribal area and upon return to the rural area 'de-urbanized'. "The urbanized African is outside the tribe, but not beyond the influence of the tribe. Correspondingly, when a man returns from the towns into the political area of his tribe, he is tribalized again - de-urbanized - though not beyond the influence of the towns" (Gluckman 1961:70). Gluckman thus postulates alternation as switching back and forth between two distinct social fields.¹⁹⁾ A variation of the 'alternation' model postulates alternating between distinct reference fields whilst in town according to the type of relationship involved, which in itself might call for a specific type of behaviour. In the so-called 'situational selection' model a man could even while actually in town still be alternating by switching back and forth between urban and tribal behaviour according to the immediate situation (Epstein 1958; Mitchell 1960). In the 'situational' approach urban social relationships can be analysed by distinguishing between three different types according to Mitchell (1966:51-56): structural, categorical and personal (cf. also Southall's (1961:29-30) distinction between structural, categorical and egocentric relationships). Structural relationships can be defined normatively in terms of role expectations of others. Categorical social relationships are those contacts which are of necessity superficial and perfunctory. People are categorized in terms of some visible characteristics and seen stereotypically. Categorical relationships aid orientation in the complex urban system. The definition of categories in terms of ethnic criteria has been referred to as 'urban tribalism' (Mitchell 1959²; 1970). Personal social relationships consist of primary, face-to-face communications between individuals which are often studied by means of network analysis.

The disadvantage of the 'alternation' and 'situational' approach according to Mayer (1962) is that it tends to give "a schizoid picture of

19) In this connection the concept 'urban' may be used as a synonym for 'town-located' (Mayer 1964). In this study we shall refer to 'urban Africans' as Africans who are physically present in town, thus including 'migrants' in the definition of urban Africans. By contrast, reference to 'urbanized Africans' will convey a degree of commitment to 'urbanism' or an urban life style.

the migrant's social personality" and does not help understand the "shift in the balance between within-town ties and extra-town ties" (1962:580). This may be an under-estimation of the migrant's capacity to compartmentalize attitudes and behaviour when oscillating - literally or metaphorically speaking - between systems in plural society (cf. van den Berghe 1964). The disparity of the rural and urban social fields serving as reference frames for men living in town does however raise the question whether there is a case for a separate model for the study of migrancy as a supplement to the study of townsmen and town-located systems: the 'migrancy' objective demands a close attention to the extra-town ties of the town-resident migrants (Mayer 1962:578). Mayer suggests that the network approach be used as an alternative to 'alter-nation' models for studying migrancy. Focus is on the migrants themselves who connect the rural and urban fields through a network of relationships.²⁰⁾ The objective of network analysis is "to discover the type and the channels of interaction between persons, and the extent of regularities which give a minimum of order and coherence to social life in communities which have no clear structure of discrete groups" (Southall 1961:25). To date the network approach has been used in rural and urban settings (e.g. Epstein 1961; Wilson, Mafeje 1963; Mayer 1964; Mitchell 1969c). Gutkind (1969:392) in accordance with Mayer's 'migrancy' objectives has sought to show how the extent and type of rural-urban-rural mobility shapes urban social networks. Along similar lines Southall (1959) has introduced the concept of role to elucidate the patterns of social relationships in urban areas.

A further attempt to study the social system in its own right is apparent in the analysis of urban voluntary associations which is particularly well documented for West Africa (cf. Little 1957; 1971). Traditional and tribal groups are no longer seen as relics of the past, but as a basis for bridging the gulf to full integration into modern types of associations. Tribal associations provide a means of slowly initiating the new migrant into the complexities of urban life. The adaptation of traditional customs to cope with the exigencies of urban life has frequently been reviewed in a functional type approach. Thus, Plotnicov (1970a) observes that traditional institutions are being supplemented with 'neo-traditional' ones. Voluntary associations are also seen as a means of filling the vacuum where external determination has failed to provide adequate institutional structure, which is most obvious in the sphere of social security.

Full focus on town is exhibited when studying the emergence of an urban African class structure in the sense of status grouping. The emergence of a middle class may be regarded as an integral part of urbanization (cf. Reissman 1964). Choice as a way of life is the prerogative of the middle class according to Pahl (1968:273). Although plural societies may extensively limit access to scarce goods in society, the differential participation of Africans in urban values is steadily increasing. In fact, this restricted opportunity may enhance the significance of small differences and sharpen awareness of social class in African urban society (Kuper 1967:134-135). From the little research work accomplished in this area to date (e.g. Mkele 1960; Kuper 1965; Tuden, Plotnicov 1970b; closer

20) It should be noted that for practical purposes Mayer (1962:578) advocates the urban pole as a starting point for the study of migrancy because of the denser concentration of migrants there in comparison to the rural end.

to home Schwab 1961; Kileff 1971) it would appear that structuring is taking place from the top of the social hierarchy and that there is little differentiation at the base (Plotnicov 1970:300). Stratification occurs along modern universal lines of education and occupation status. The analysis of the recruitment of elites suggests that the status constellations of some types of elites, notably businessmen and traders, are disequibrated. Plotnicov (1970b:269ff.) in West Africa makes a distinction between modern and traditional elites, but it would appear that this is less applicable in 'B' type towns. If it is observed that African elites at the apex of the urban social ladder use the White middle class as reference group (e.g. Hellman 1971) this is most certainly only because elites aspire to positions higher up which are necessarily beyond the limits of the African social system in their case. With the emergence of status differences within the African urban population in plural societies one might argue that aspirations of the broad base might revert from White middle class ones to elite positions within the African substratum.

There is considerable consensus that one of the chief factors inhibiting the full absorption of the African migrant into an urban community are his rural ties, in particular the ties to land in the area of origin (cf. Richards 1963). This, it will be remembered, was noted as the chief distinctive feature of African migration.²¹ Likewise it might also be regarded as the chief characteristic of African urbanization. It is frequently contended that African urbanization cannot be explained by conventional models or be compared with historical urbanization trends in Europe during the industrial revolution in the last century, because the rural-urban migrant is not a proletarian in the sense that he has lost his rights to land and is solely reliant on income from non-agricultural activity. It is the pull of the land that prevents full integration and promotes return migration. The implication of the African system of land tenure for migration and urbanization might turn out to be somewhat of a chicken and egg question. It has been argued that given a substantial economic base in town, the migrant will behave according to the conventional push-pull model and give up his land rights (see discussion on stabilization above, also Plotnicov cited in Gutkind 1969:390). At the rural end development of agricultural production could stabilize population in the rural area. Without the guarantee of security in land, it is conceivable that the migrant would not return to his area of origin nor would he embark on a circulatory migrant career in the first place (McLoughlin 1964).

The importance of maintenance of land rights for stabilization or commitment to urban residence has been recognised very early in urban

21) One might suggest that the 'traditional' feature of rural ties distinguishes the African migrant from the 'transilient' migrant (cf. Richmond 1969:244ff.) typical of modern migration.

studies and proved a useful basis for distinguishing between migrants and townsmen.²²⁾ Reader in a conceptual clarification review refers to 'ruralism' (the adjective of which is 'rural-tied') as "remaining in, keeping in contact with, or returning to settle in tribal areas" (1970:55). Criteria of immigration thus imply negative criteria of 'ruralism' (Reader 1970:66).

Possibly the only way to cope with the multiple facets of urbanization is by using a multivariate approach such as factor analysis (cf. Reader 1970:71ff.), employed either as an exploratory or explanatory technique. A multi-dimensional approach to individual urbanization has been undertaken by Grant (1969), who condenses various indicators of socio-cultural adaptation on a single rural-urban scale by means of a factor analysis of 52 items. The principle factor U, labelled 'urbanization', is heavily loaded with the items: place of birth, place of residence of parents, allegiance to chief.

Now to the third class of urbanization which constitutes the demographic aspect. In terms of general theory, the explanation and prediction of this last type of urbanization has progressed most favourably (cf. Schwirian, Prehn 1962; Reissman 1964). Urbanization is regarded as a central variable in the theory of general economic development (Heintz 1969). For global comparative purposes the most commonly used operationalization of the urbanization variable following Davis (1969:7) is the proportion of the total population concentrated in urban settlements or else a rise in this proportion.

Because urban growth in Africa, as noted above, is achieved predominantly by in-migration, the demographic urbanization process may be analysed in terms of permanent settlement of rural migrants in population centres. In order to avoid confusion with the qualitative aspect of urbanization the concept 'stabilization' is frequently used in Africa both as a population and an individual attribute. According to Mitchell "stabilization refers essentially to the change over from the circulation of people between town and country to the settlement of people in towns" (1969b:473).²³⁾

- 22) Elkan (1960:7) distinguishes between 'migrants' and 'proletarians'. The term proletarian was introduced for purposes of his study of urban labour in Uganda to distinguish the man, whose income is heavily dependent on wages, from both the farmer (or peasant), who lives entirely off the land, and the migrant worker, who treats wages as a supplement to his farm income - not as a substitute.
- 23) It may be noted that this approach is a return to the rural starting point of analysis inasmuch as the African population is assumed to be normally - in the statistical sense - rurally located. Mitchell (1969b:474) explicitly states this as a working hypothesis.

Due to the process character of the variable, stabilization is difficult to quantify. Degree of stabilization can be measured by estimating how far the hypothetical pattern of migration has been departed from. On the population level, urban and total population structures may be compared according to age-sex-composition, on the individual level an arbitrary measure of two-thirds of an adult lifetime spent in town may qualify as stabilized. Indices on the individual level usually revolve either around time already spent in town or intention to remain in town. Mitchell's index of stabilization (1969b:480ff.) introduces an age corrective and is based on the proportion of time spent in town as an adult. Alverson (1967) points out that this index is weak in that it does not account for the absolute time factor and suggests weighting for age groups (as a matter of fact Mitchell (1969b:483) acknowledged this weakness originally and suggested effective comparison between age groups as a remedy). To overcome the second weakness of static description Alverson provides a technique for the assessment of differential rates at which time spent in urban areas is accumulating for individuals or groups of individuals.

Reader (1963) has demonstrated that demographic stabilization, while useful as a measure of urban exposure, cannot be used as a predictor of future intentions to stay in town. An attempt to incorporate intentions of future stabilization with individual stabilization history might be seen in the use of the concept 'urban commitment'. In an early paper Mitchell and Shaul (1965) following Glass refer to 'commitment to urban residence'. This concept implies an element of choice on the part of the individual and although difficult to operationalize is more pertinent from the sociological point of view than 'stabilization'. 'Commitment to urban residence' is considered as a multi-dimensional variable best assessed by several indicators which are subsequently reduced to a uni-dimensional continuum by factor analysis. The rationale underlying this procedure according to Mitchell and Shaul "is that if an individual has decided, ... that his ends are best served by continuing to live in town rather than by migrating between town and country, then the decision will be reflected, to a different degree, in all of a series of selected aspects of observable behaviour" (1965:629). From the factor analysis of seven attributes²⁴) three main factors emerged: a 'residential',

24) Attributes include:

- a) Proportion of time spent in town during adulthood
- b) Period of continuous residence in one town
- c) Wife present in town
- d) Occupation
- e) Level of education
- f) Attitude to town life
- g) Wage level (Mitchell, Shaul 1965:629-630).

Further suggestions for attributes which could not be included for various reasons are: number of visits from town to the rural areas, goods sent back to the rural areas, possession of fixed property in town, nature of relationships which an individual has with rural kinsmen (Mitchell, Shaul 1965:632).

an 'economic' and an 'industrial employment' factor. In a later paper 'urban commitment' conceived as a disposition within a psychological framework has its counterpart in 'urban involvement' construed as a disposition within a sociological framework. 'Urban commitment' is defined as "an individual's subjectively experienced preference for living in town as against elsewhere", 'urban involvement' as "the individual's participation in social relationships which are centred in urban institutions" (Mitchell 1969b:485). Both variables are operationalized with identical indicators, "the distinction lies essentially in the explanatory framework in which the measures are subsumed" (Mitchell 1969b:485). Weights of indicators (see seven attributes above) on a single rural-urban commitment scale are derived by means of factor analysis. Validation of the scale was undertaken by comparison of scores for extreme groups with known high or low urban commitment respectively. Whereas 'urban commitment' in the sense of commitment to urban residence may still be considered under the heading of the demographic type of urbanization, the interpretation of 'urban commitment' as 'urban involvement' is more essentially what is meant by 'urbanism'.

The intricate relationship between urbanism and stabilization is such that a strict analytic distinction is often not feasible, especially in empirical urban studies. This is best illustrated by citing a list of classifications and typologies pertaining to African urbanization. It is easily discernible that the two main classificatory dimensions refer to:

- a) the length of residence in town and possibly future urban residence (commitment to urban residence) and
- b) the severance of rural ties (e.g. lack of land rights) or - positively expressed - commitment to urban life.

Although technically more sophisticated the continuous urbanization scales obtained by factor analysis can be reduced to discrete categories by locating specific points and identifying them with items of classificatory schemes. Where classificatory schemes are used as typologies of urban Africans, a sequence of assimilation phases may be implicitly or explicitly assumed. These typologies may be regarded as attempts at codifying the African urbanization process in the manner of the partial theories discussed above. The following list represents a selection of urbanization criteria which have relevance for our study of urban Africans.

* Two common criteria of urbanization used in an early investigation undertaken in South Africa were that an African had severed all ties with the rural area of his origin and was solely dependent on his labour for his livelihood (Hellman 1956:730).

* Referring to 'detrribalization' Hellman chose three criteria for qualifying detribalized Africans in her early Rooiyard study.

1. Permanent residence in an area other than that of the chief to whom a man would normally pay allegiance.

2. Complete severance of the relationship to the chief.
3. Independence of rural relatives both for support during periods of unemployment and ill-health or for the performance of ceremonies connected with the major crises of life (1948:110).

Reference to the chief and rural relatives is intimately linked to land rights inasmuch as land is held on a usufructuary basis in Africa and it is the chief who safeguards the fundamental right of every tribesman to land. A man's right to land in the tribal home depends on his accepting membership of the tribe with all its obligations. Those who stay in the rural home hold the land as security for support in money by those who go out to work. Those in town get security by their continued allegiance to the tribe and the chief (cf. Gluckman 1961:78-79). These detribalization criteria proved difficult to operationalize and were subsequently replaced.

* In her Sellgoods study of 1953 Hellman adopted the following criteria of urbanization.

1. A period of at least 10 years' continuous residence in (town). Visits to the country not exceeding three weeks' duration (the normal paid leave period) were not regarded as breaking this continuity.
2. Permanent residence of the wife in (town).
3. No land rights in a native reserve or other rural area (1956:730).

* Glass cited by Mitchell (1969b:486) used a modification of Hellman's criteria in her study of African industrial labour as an 'index of urbanization'.

1. Period of continuous residence of 10 years or more in urban areas.
2. Present place of residence of wife and children (mother for unmarried men), i.e., whether in rural or urban area.
3. Whether worker possesses land rights in rural areas.
4. Place of birth, i.e., whether in rural or urban area.

These indicators were reduced to a single dimension of rural-urban commitment. In later publications (Glass 1964) three main indicators were employed:

1. Continuous residence in town.
2. The urban residence of wives and kinsfolk.
3. The lack of land rights in rural areas.

* Mayer (1961:5) in South Africa makes a structural distinction between 'country-rooted' persons, in the location but not of it, and 'town-rooted' persons. The former are migrants, the latter are immigrants. The former are staying in town but regard themselves as having their rural homes or roots in the country. The 'town-rooted' are those persons whose homes and roots are in the city and there only, and they mainly emphasize people and relations in town. Country-born people can become 'town-rooted', too, by deciding to stay on permanently and becoming incorporated in the town community.

* Pons distinguishes (1956) between 'temporarily' and 'permanently' urbanized in Stanleyville according to the wish to return to the rural home in the future.

* Wilson (1941) in his study of Broken Hill classified labourers working there as 'peasant visitors', 'migrant labourers', 'temporary urbanized' and 'permanently urbanized' labourers according to the time spent in town since leaving the rural areas, the criteria being less than one-third of time, one to two-thirds, more than two-thirds and born or brought up in town respectively.

* Mitchell (1951) studying Copperbelt urbanization used a five-fold classification for urban Africans according to probable duration of urban residence assessed by respondents' attitudes and/or intentions.

- A. Migrant Workers: Life in town is a temporary expedient.
- B. Temporary Town Dwellers: Workers living in town but not liking it.
- C. Semi-permanent Town Dwellers: Workers who expect to stay on the Copperbelt until they retire.
- D. Permanent Town Dwellers: Workers who do not expect to go back to their villages unless circumstances force them.
- E. Completely Urbanized Town Dwellers: Workers who have been in town since birth or early childhood and know no other life.

* In a later scheme (Mitchell 1969b:483-485) the above classifications were condensed. Urbanization was assessed by intention to stay in town or not.

- A. Labour migrant: In town for a specific purpose and have no intention of staying longer than necessary.
- B. Temporary stabilization: Intend to leave town some day, but when is quite uncertain, not in the immediate future.
- C. Permanent stabilization: No intention of returning home.

* Wilson and Mafeje (1963:14-15) summarize the combinations of cleavages along the dimensions of migrant-townsmen, class and age which emerge among

urban Africans in Langa, Cape Town when distinguishing between the following groups:

1. The migrant labourer (plus education differences).
2. The semi-urbanized who aspire to become townsmen (some education).
3. The urbanized whose homes are in town.
 - a) Townee or *townai* type (plus age sub-division).
 - b) 'Decent people' - oosuse-me educated middle class
- respectable lower class.

Wilson and Mafeje comment that these categories are based on attitudes and values and not only readily measurable stabilization criteria such as frequency of home visits, land rights etc. These attitudes and values are reflected in spending patterns (1963:15). Basically, this means a person whose urban expenditure exceeds rural expenditure will be more urbanized and vice versa. It is interesting to note that this expenditure pattern also applies to urban accommodation; minimal residential differentiation is therefore an implicit dimension distinguishing the above types.

* Heisler (1974:26ff.) in Zambia distinguishes between historically sequential types of wage earners and relates them to the marginal conditions causing their emergence by outlining the interactions between the government of migration and urbanization in relation to the sequence of three forms of urbanization.

- Traditional Man
- Exploited Man
- Permanent Target-Worker
- Temporary Target-Worker
- Industrial Man

Whereas the first two types of wage earners have disappeared, the last three co-exist in the modern towns of Zambia today. The Permanent Target-Worker habitually alternates between subsistence peasantry and wage-earning (1974:29). The Temporary Target-Worker wants to earn his subsistence as well as consumer durables in town and stays there for longer spells (1974:62,126). Industrial Man is stabilized in town and knows no other way of life (1974:29).

A few final remarks on the inter-relationship between different approaches to the study of urbanization may be called for at this point:

Obviously *partial theories of life-cycle* are as relevant to *stabilization* as they are to *migration* processes, the former being by

definition the negation of circular migration. Elements of *push-pull theory* are pertinent to 'urban commitment' in connection with the relative strength of rural-urban ties. In *network analysis*, it is assumed that the 'pull' (most frequently toward the rural pole) is effected via the network of social relationships. The *choice* factor inherent in 'urban commitment' has its counterpart in the *decision-act* of the potential migrant, which, as noted above, is commonly used as a starting point in most approaches to migration theorising - the connection is obvious because the negation of urban commitment in the African context implies return migration to the rural home. In years to come this connection may not be so straight forward, for as Reader has recently commented, "the African rural male may not always wish to earn his living entirely from the soil or from town; he may have reached a judicious mix of his own choice" (1974:397).

Secondly, apart from the unclear relationship between past and future individual stabilization, Mitchell's 'urban involvement' index may be seen as an attempt to solve the dilemma of the artificial distinction between urbanization and urbanism, i.e. individual 'stabilization' and the acceptance of an urban life style. It is a well documented fact that living in town does not necessarily presuppose a commitment to urban values. Although urbanism is often assumed to be a likely outcome of urbanization it is not a necessary consequence, and the causal relationship is by no means clear or linear, especially when retirement age is reached.

In this connection it might be useful to introduce the concept of 'quasi-stabilization' (Møller 1974), which is based on the distinction made by van Velsen (1963:35ff.) between the stabilization of urban workers and urban dwellers. Van Velsen argues that a labourer may become a permanent urban worker without necessarily becoming a permanent urban dweller. Thus, 'quasi-stabilization' may be regarded as the *stabilization of the working population alone*. The concept of 'quasi-stabilization' also implies certain limits to the full stabilization or permanent settlement of rural migrants in town which may theoretically stem from two possible sources:

- 1) Marginal conditions may effectively limit the full stabilization of migrants in town or
- 2) The migrants themselves may introduce limits to full stabilization by choosing to shorten their urban sojourn to coincide with a working life-time.

The actual occurrence of either one of these two limits or their combined occurrence has considerable consequences for the manner in which urbanization proceeds in a particular context. For instance the limiting marginal conditions which lie beyond the migrants' sphere of influence are given factors in many 'B' type towns or wherever population movement is controlled. It will also be noted that *only* if the second individual limit is given, regardless of the occurrence of the first limit dictated by external forces, can one speak of *voluntary* migration at retirement age.

Furthermore, the occurrence of the first without the second limit (i.e. an external limit is imposed without the individual migrant's acceptance), may give rise to tension for the migrants concerned, an event which will be discussed in detail later. In terms of push-pull theory, the urban push and the rural pull would not reinforce or complement each other in this case.²⁵⁾

Assuming that urbanization, used in the sense of immigration, implies a negation of "ruralism", as defined by Reader, may also have its pitfalls when constructing scales of urban involvement. Mayer notes "that active involvement in within-town social systems is no index of non-involvement in extra-town systems. The extra-town ties can indeed be simultaneously involved in those very actions which represent participation in an urban system" (1962:581). Along similar lines Gutkind remarks that:

The degree of contact the African urbanite maintains with his home community does not involve him in *less* participation in the life of the town but, frequently, in deeper and *more* persistent involvement. Visits to a rural home, or other regular links, are usually a reflection of a fairly high degree of commitment to an urban-based economy or to the perception by the migrant that life in town provides him with the potential of some degree of upward economic and social mobility which, if realised, in turn increases his stature in his rural community. Thus rural (traditional) influences rather than making a migrant less of an urbanite might actually involve him more deeply in the urban milieu (1974:31-32).

Plotnicov highlights the importance of inquiry into urbanization despite the dilemma posed by the intricate relationship between qualitative and demographic aspects by observing that:

... if there is a direct relationship between attitudes

25) Compare Heisler's discussion of the 'balanced stabilization' policy adopted by the Zambian Government in the mid-forties. In order to achieve 'balanced stabilization' in both urban and rural areas it was proposed that 'Towns for Africans' be constructed and a special provision be made to encourage the retirement of urban workers to village life (Heisler 1974:103). Independently from the Zambian Government the Copperbelt Mining Companies introduced an identical policy which is said to have been described as "stabilization without urbanization" by one of their leaders (Heisler 1974:104). Heisler goes on to speculate whether the distinction between 'balanced' and 'full' stabilization is not clearly paralleled in his sequential urbanization types (see discussion above). "*Towns for Africans* were loaned to workers for as long as they were employed; *African Towns* now belong to their inhabitants throughout their lifetimes" (Heisler 1974:104 emphases added).

of temporary urban residence and the kind of social life developing in the cities, then ... the implications of the circulation of labour migration and the degree to which there is a commitment to live in the rural homelands (should be dealt with more extensively) ... While many tribesmen may consider themselves as migrants, only temporary urban residents, their actual condition is that of permanent town-dwellers ... Despite professed rural orientations, people remain in the cities, and they do something about making their urban existence more secure and more satisfying. ... Individuals may disclaim a commitment to permanent urban residence while at the same time participating in the building of .. enduring urban social institutions (comment to Epstein 1969:272).

So far we have reviewed theoretical considerations of migration and urbanization processes with emphasis on developing contexts, in particular Africa, and shown that theorising in this field may be regarded as an attempt to codify two temporally related aspects of migration: antecedents and consequences. At the same time we have noted that theorising of the migration and urbanization process has not progressed as far as might be expected. The retardation of theory building is due mainly to dissensus regarding definition and scope of the phenomena to be analysed. The varying approaches utilized have only been conducive to the development of partial theories, and empirical regularities have yet to be interpreted in the light of more general sociological theory.

It has been confirmed that one common dimension of these partial theories is contained in the emphasis on the decision to migrate or re-emigrate interpreted by means of psychological decision-making theory. The generality and level of abstraction, characteristic of theories applicable to a wider range of phenomena is, however, with few exceptions, singularly lacking. One of the means of overcoming this deficiency is to integrate the migration phenomena into existing general sociological theory.²⁶⁾

For purposes of this study it appears appropriate to follow Hans-Joachim Hoffmann-Nowotny's attempt to systematically explain migration phenomena in terms of Peter Heintz's 'theory of structural and anomic

26) For example Eisenstadt (1954) has applied Talcott Parson's general theory of action to migration phenomena. Langenheder (1968) has analysed the migration decision using a modification of Kurt Lewin's field theory.

tensions' (1968²; 1972, Vol.1: 140-148) and general 'theory of societal systems' (1972, Vol.1: 127-139; see also Vol. 2: 7ff.). One of the chief advantages of Hoffmann-Nowotny's method of analysis is that by deducing more specific propositions from general theory both antecedents (1970) and consequences (1973) of migration - congruent with the two-fold division in this introductory chapter - can adequately be interpreted within a single theoretical framework. An attempt is made here to outline this theory very briefly and to demonstrate how its generality is able to grasp and integrate several theoretical facets reviewed above. It is, however, beyond the scope of this chapter to present the theory in detail and we shall content ourselves with a selection of those aspects which are most relevant for this study.

Utilizing Heintz's global theory of societal systems as a point of departure, and by further developing it, Hoffmann-Nowotny has systematically derived propositions to explain migration and assimilation and integration phenomena. Basically, the theory of societal systems may be considered an equilibrium theory,²⁷⁾ which encompasses multiple levels of interaction between structural units on individual through provincial, national, international to global system levels. Membership of any one system simultaneously includes membership of all other systems superimposed upon this first system in hierarchical order. Basic concepts of the theory are power and prestige. "Power means the control or property of desired goods by some units of the system according to particularistic criteria. Prestige means the possession of desired goods which are accessible to all units of the system according to universalistic criteria" (Heintz 1972, Vol. 1: 127). Prestige is regarded as the factor which legitimates power. Differential distribution of power and prestige between system units at any one level introduces dynamic processes to dissolve and change social structure. A social structure then appears as consolidated when power coincides with prestige at any one level of system units (Hoffmann-Nowotny 1970:21ff.; 1973: 4ff.).

In a sociologically defined system (i.e. field of interaction) there is a certain amount of consensus regarding common values. A particular value is attached to material and immaterial goods and resources. Differential access to or participation in societal goods may be institutionalized and this is reflected in the ranking of individual actors on what might be referred to as status lines. The status or rank position of an actor on a particular status line in vertical direction defines the degree of access to a particular social value. It is possible to depict status lines (or institutionalized rank dimensions) as being ordered along a continuum according to their power and/or prestige content (Hoffmann-Nowotny 1973: 4-5).

27) It should be noted that the equilibrium concept is used only in the strictly analytical sense in Heintz's theory of structural and anomic tensions and does not imply subjective value connotations (cf. Hoffmann-Nowotny 1970:31).



Figure 5 Rank dimension on a power-prestige continuum (Hoffmann-Nowotny 1973:5)

The power loading of a status line increases with the centrality of the particular value attributed to it in a given societal system. The centrality of a good means that it is esteemed in its own right. On the other hand the more a good is esteemed because it permits access to other goods, the more instrumental it is. Thus the more central a good, the higher the power loading (Hoffmann-Nowotny 1973:5). The closer the proximity between status lines on the power-prestige continuum the more instrumental they are for each other (Hoffmann-Nowotny 1973:7). When analysing a sociologically defined system the number of institutionalized rank dimensions or status lines, the ranks of units on these status lines and the power and/or prestige loadings of occupied and unoccupied status lines must be determined. Then from observing the distribution of power and prestige among the units, an inference on the structure of the system and the behaviour of units can be made. Institutionalized rank dimensions with high power loading are frequently operationalized as hierarchies of income or occupational status; high prestige loading is attributed to educational status.

The most general axiom of the theory is that power and prestige tend to be equilibrated. When, as a result of the working of two groups of equilibrating and disequilibrating forces in a societal system, power and prestige do not coincide on the individual level, structural tension develops. A disequilibrium can be characterized as a "power deficit" or a "power surplus" with reference to the prestige distribution (Heintz 1968²: 280). As noted above, prestige legitimates the claim to power. Heintz differentiates between three types of structural tensions:

1. Simple rank tension resulting from differential positions being occupied by units on a status line,
2. Status disequilibrium tension resulting from differential positions being occupied by one unit on various status lines,

3. Status incompleteness tension resulting from non-participation on one or more status lines.

To give more substance to the abstract formulation we can illustrate these tensions at the individual level with the following examples: An actor exhibits rank tension when occupying the lowest rung in an occupational hierarchy in a particular society; he exhibits status disequilibrium tension when receiving a high salary (high income rank) without the accompanying formal educational qualifications (low education rank); he exhibits status incompleteness tension when he does not occupy a position on a particular status line at all, for instance when an adult male actor has no job in a society where gainful employment for adult males is the norm.

These structural tensions can also be referred to in more conventional terms of 'marginality'.

1. Simple rank tension is then described as marginality of low rank.
2. Status disequilibrium tension is referred to as marginality resulting from a disequilibrated status configuration.
3. Status incompleteness tension is referred to as marginality resulting from an incomplete role-status configuration.

If the degree of integration in a system is measured by the relative limited access to social values, marginality can be defined as degree of integration in a societal system. With reference to the norms determining differential access to social values, one can differentiate between universalistic and particularistic ones. The former make access dependent on achievement criteria, the latter on ascribed criteria. A system is referred to as 'open' or 'closed' depending on whether access to social values is reflected by universal or particularistic norms. Openings refer to access to the system itself as well as to chances for units to change their positions internally.

It is hypothesized that the degree of legitimation is higher when a person occupies a position, to which access is universal, conversely the degree of legitimation is low when a person occupies a position with particularistic access.

Optimization processes tend to dominate on status lines with high power loading. This involves a higher tendency toward optimization on status lines where the distance between the position held and the highest position on the dimension is great. A status line is regarded as saturated when most units have achieved rank optimization. Status lines are crystallized or decrystallized when units have achieved positions on various status lines which are close together or far apart, respectively.

A second general axiom is that structural tension produces anomic tensions whereby structural tensions must attain a certain strength before anomic tensions become manifest. This concept of anomic tension is

identical to Robert K. Merton's usage, with the distinction, that it is caused by structural tension and is not limited to the underprivileged situation of a power deficit; anomic tension is also found in over-privileged situations characterized by a power surplus (Hoffmann-Nowotny 1970:32-33). Anomic tension can be referred to as adaptive behaviour which aims at bringing about an equilibrium between power and prestige without resolving the underlying structural tension in the first instance. For this reason it may be referred to as 'structurally inadequate' behaviour (Hoffmann-Nowotny 1973:252).

Anomic tensions can be characterized by degree of structuring. Generally speaking, the lower the position of a unit on a legitimizing status line, the lower the degree of structuring of anomic tension. This is referred to as individual anomie. (The more structured types of anomie need not concern us here because we expect to encounter only this low structured type in our study). Individual anomie is found in the case of status incompleteness with reference to a legitimizing status line, status disequilibrium with the position on the legitimizing status line lagging, or when rank tension occurs due to the occupation of low positions on all relevant status lines. We anticipate that rank tension as a consequence of low status is the type of anomic tension which will be particularly pertinent to our analysis.

Just as structural tensions can be transformed from one type to another, the respective anomic tensions can also be transformed. A balance between power and prestige can generally be achieved by effecting a change of position on given power and/or prestige lines. If this can be achieved by legitimate means without too much difficulty, then anomic tension need not occur. With increasing difficulties the likelihood of structural tension being transformed into anomic tension increases.

Alternative possibilities for resolving anomic tensions are essentially the following four, whereby marginal conditions determine the choice of different alternatives.

1. Attempt to change status positions,
2. Abandonment of status,
3. Shift of emphasis from low to high status,
4. Change of value scale (Hoffmann-Nowotny 1970:37-38; 1973:14).

Although we are not going to discuss the complexities of multiple level tension transfer, it is necessary to note that tension (structural and anomic) can be experienced at each unit level by virtue of the unit's membership in a particular involving system. This is of special importance when applying the theory to a migration situation, in which the actor changes system membership.

Limiting our consideration of theoretical implications to individual units, structural tension may be resolved by an individual actor

changing his position on relevant status lines within the system, thus engaging in what is commonly referred to as 'social' mobility. If an individual experiences anomic tension chiefly through his membership status, he may choose to physically depart from the system, thus forfeiting membership status (Hoffmann-Nowotny 1973:13). For instance, an actor may relieve rank tension or status disequilibrium tension by exchanging a lower or unoccupied status in his context of origin for a higher one in the context of destination. What is generally referred to as 'social' mobility is thus a concomitant of geographic or spatial mobility in Hoffmann-Nowotny's migration theory.

Hoffmann-Nowotny hypothesizes that the difference in the three types of structural tension listed above determine the migration behaviour of societal units. By viewing migration as an interaction process between societal systems which effects transfer of tension and thus equilibrium of power and prestige, it is possible for societal units characterized by a power deficit, which are not capable of decreasing their power deficit through economic development during a reasonable period of time or to a satisfactory degree, to resort to migration to halt further structural tension building up or possibly even to attain a new power-prestige equilibrium on a lower power level. For the emigration context migration may be interpreted as a prestige 'export', for the immigration context migration can be considered as a prestige 'import' (Hoffmann-Nowotny 1970:98-99).

From the viewpoint of individuals and their membership in societal contexts, Hoffmann-Nowotny defines migration as a process during which individuals give up membership in a higher tension context and aspire to membership in a lower tension context. This means, that as a result of structural tension pertaining to the system involving the individual unit being transformed into upward mobility, vertical mobility - via geographic mobility - of the individual subunit takes place (1970:99). Hoffmann-Nowotny differentiates between situations where the system tension perceived by the individual and situations where the tension is located within the individual himself. In the first case the individual can resolve the tension by giving up system membership. In the second case the individual will try to improve the lagging position in his status disequilibrium configuration. If only slim chances of improvement are perceived in his own membership context he might choose to migrate to another context where this equilibrium is easier to achieve. In this second case the problem of changing system membership is of far less importance (1970:99; 1973:19).

Shifting the emphasis to adaptation in the in-migration context, Hoffmann-Nowotny notes that emigrants having avoided the tensions of their respective emigration contexts by abandoning membership status can only fully resolve tension when a new membership status is assumed in the immigration context. Similarly, emigrants intending to improve their status configuration in a new context must find a full or sufficiently satisfactory equilibrium before their tension is resolved. If the necessary conditions for resolving tension in the new context are not given, the individual will merely experience a tension transformation. For the present study the second type of migrating individual and his perception of chances for achieving status consistency in the new context are particularly relevant.

In summary, our study is chiefly concerned with the rank tension experienced by individuals themselves and via membership of a context with a power deficit and its effect on migration. Subsequent to the migration process the integration possibilities in the new context will be chief focus of interest. We shall therefore not follow Hoffmann-Nowotny's further theoretical excursions beyond this point in order to concentrate on a few issues of particular relevance to our study.

Firstly we shall attempt to formulate typical African migration phenomena in terms of the above theory. Basic to Hoffmann-Nowotny's theory is that a development differential between out-/in-migration contexts provides the setting on which mechanisms moving units operate. In the African case people move to and from the rural areas, from subsistence agriculture to urban-industrial centres. At the niveau of the individual in the study context the African migrant resolves status incompleteness tension (no position on occupational status line, i.e. not gainfully employed) or rank tension due to overall low position on central status lines by seeking a job - usually as an unskilled labourer - in the urban industrial sector of the nation's economy (lowest rung on the occupational status line). By moving from subsistence agriculture (very low status position on income status line) to wage employment in town (relative to rural context higher position on income status line) he is able to increase his income status considerably by utilizing the same asset of able-bodiedness in two different contexts. Similarly an ascribed status such as low age, which is lowly valued in the rural areas, can be instantly transformed into an asset in the urban context.

It is also theoretically possible and empirically probable that some migrants today emigrate for status disequilibrium reasons. Consistent with the above theory we would expect the position on the educational status line to lead over the position on income and/or occupational status line. Higher education relative to income would legitimate income aspirations and predispose emigration from the rural context where there are few openings for persons with 'book learning'.²⁸⁾

Diverse empirical regularities regarding migration such as age and educational selectivity and the emigration of low status persons (e.g. Lipset 1955; Lipset, Bendix 1959; Garbett 1967) as discussed above can easily be integrated into this theoretical framework. The affinity of a

28) In a recent review of African migration literature Derek Byerlee states that "studies of rural to urban migrants consistently show a positive association between education and the propensity to migrate" (1974: 546). Some caution might however be advised when generalizing because Byerlee relies chiefly on West African authorities (especially Caldwell 1969). So striking does Byerlee consider the dominance of school drop-outs and school-leavers in the migration stream in Africa that he views this as a particular characteristic of African migration along with the maintenance of rural ties.

theory, in which tension resolution is based on development differentials, with the push-pull theory of rural-urban circular migration is fairly obvious. In both theories a migrant utilizes the economic gradient between his origin and aspired place of work to his advantage. Each move theoretically achieves an improvement of his lot when the status constellation in the new context is compared to the former status constellation in the old context. The default of identical factors exerting both "push" and "pull" forces in the push-pull theory is turned into a positive attribute in the theory of societal systems. The postulate of tensions between identical status lines being induced and projected onto various contexts on multiple societal levels increases the range of the theory. The combination power-prestige loading solves the problem of the multicausal determination of migration very elegantly. The universally observed chief economic determinant of migration is integrated into the theoretical framework when power status lines are defined as central social values and operationalized by economic variables.

By shifting the frame of reference to the new in-migration context, an analysis of positions occupied on various status lines, and the actual and perceived openings on these status lines, permits an assessment of the structural tensions facing the migrant in town and their possible resolution during an urban sojourn. Actual mobility, objective and perceived mobility potential are further aspects of urban rank structural tension, which we shall explore in the course of this study (cf. also Heintz's "Formalized Theory of Social Systems" and "Introduction" to this theory, 1972, Vol. 2:13ff., 7-11; Bautz, Held 1972:83-86). Combining several of these aspects affords an opportunity for drawing inferences concerning anomic tension, though propositions pertaining to this type of tension are only of marginal interest here.

When examining immigrant behaviour in the receiving context Hoffmann-Nowotny opens the discussion with a conceptual clarification which will be briefly summarized here. Using Eisenstadt's (1954) concept of "absorption" as a point of departure, a distinction is made between "integration" and "assimilation" which are fairly congruent with Eisenstadt's concepts of "acculturation" and "institutional dispersion". Integration may also be considered the complementary concept to "marginality" as introduced above. Starting point are two basic dimensions of social reality "culture" and "society". By assigning a short definition to these dimensions (culture is symbolic structure and society is positional structure of social reality), assimilation and integration can be defined as participation in culture and society respectively. These proposed definitions are very close to the differentiation made by Gordon (1973³) between "behavioural assimilation" and "structural assimilation" discussed above. With reference to the theory of structural and anomic tensions a hypothesis is derived stating that assimilation is determined to a greater extent by integration than vice versa, i.e. assimilation can be regarded as a function of integration. Resolution of tension involving central social values, are prerequisite to integration and are greatly influenced by the mobility potential on central status lines and the openness of a social structure. In this connection it is worth noting that Eisenstadt's proposition that the host society is just as actively involved in the

adaptation process as the immigrant population itself, is taken up by Hoffmann-Nowotny in his study of foreign workers (1973). Potential integration is viewed from the vantage point of both foreign workers and native population.

In our study context we encounter a further problem regarding immigrant behaviour, because the in-migration context is set in a plural society. We suggest that under these circumstances it is more appropriate to limit the analysis of integration and assimilation processes to the marginal African sector of urban society which is so to speak 'internally marginal' due to its composition and involvement in rapid social change and structural development. It will not be possible to isolate this sector completely and no pretence is made that the dominant sector has not left its imprint on the marginal sector. It has been shown above that the urban African value system is to a large extent a replica of what is usually referred to as the 'western-industrialized', 'modern' or 'european' value system. Nevertheless, for analytic purposes it should suffice to measure integration and assimilation within the marginal in-migration context alone. If so desired such processes can then be expressed in terms of relative integration of a marginal sector in the encompassing in-migration context. The openness of the urban social structure relevant to our study can thus be assessed in terms of differential mobility along central status lines within an urban sub-system. We shall also see that auxiliary status lines such as tenure attain great importance for integration in a context where external conditions have contributed historically to the shaping of the urban structure of the minority sector.

Other factors, which deserve special attention because of their relevance to our study, concern spatial and time dimensions. Hoffmann-Nowotny treats such non-sociological variables as distance to area of origin (1970:102) and duration of urban residence (1973) as theory external factors. For instance, duration of urban residence enters into mechanisms as an intervening variable (1973:289ff.). Likewise age, although a sociological variable, is used chiefly as a control factor (1973). In our study these variables will be assigned a more central position in interpreting African adaptation to the urban context. When circulation rather than one-way migration is the characteristic feature of urban labour, distance from the rural home and its location in the communication network become important factors in determining the response to urban living. Moreover, an attempt to integrate the life-cycle concept, which is based on age differentials and has proved extremely powerful in explaining migration phenomena elsewhere, into Hoffmann-Nowotny's migration theory should possibly be made in order to account for the circularity in migration, which is predominant in the African context. Generally speaking, the chief marginal condition conducive to return migration is the reaching of pensionable age. A concomitant of pensionable age is a status configuration very similar to the one predisposing rural-urban migration as described above. Rank tension aggravated by a sudden drop in status introducing status disequilibrium or in its most extreme form status incompleteness is now experienced in the urban context and migration lends itself as a possible solution. The migrant once again utilizes the

development gradient between area of destination and origin to enhance his status position - only in the opposite direction.

To illustrate the structural tensions experienced by individuals at retirement we can imagine that a migrant is 'pensioned off' at the end of a working life and abruptly loses his employment and income status in town. In the rural area the migrant can fall back on subsistence agriculture in the least. Moreover, with his urban assets the returning migrant may enter into the rural income and occupational structure at a relatively higher position than before his previous emigration. Change of context 'softens' the status drop, and resolves what might be intolerable tension in the urban context. All interruptions in circular migration which, in the terminology introduced earlier, mark the end of a migration cycle, are characterized by similar structural tensions at the level of the individual. Premature interruptions may be caused by loss of employment through redundancy, firing etc. In these cases the return to the rural area is often involuntary.

Whereas the question of return migration and circular migration is a central theme in our study it is very marginal to Hoffmann-Nowotny's study of foreign labour. It might nevertheless be useful to review the brief mention afforded to return migration by Hoffmann-Nowotny in order to clarify his theoretical interpretation of the phenomenon. Basically Hoffmann-Nowotny (1973:252ff.) differentiates between return migration as an anomic act (i.e. structurally inadequate behaviour) or as a tension resolving mechanism (structurally adequate). According to this distinction the initial rural-urban migration can be viewed as structurally adequate behaviour if an individual attempts to achieve individual mobility in a situation where the rural context cannot achieve this mobility for him. The aim of emigration is then to achieve a higher status and/or an equilibrated and/or a complete status configuration. This initial emigration may be the prelude to the build-up of new structural tensions in the in-migration context which may in turn lead to anomic tensions. Subsequent return migration in the case of such a tension build-up may firstly be interpreted as anomic behaviour i.e. as a reaction to these anomic tensions which does not adequately solve the underlying structural tension. (This case might be illustrated by the 'unsuccessful' migrant who fails to fulfill part or all of his aspirations in the new context.) However, if the in-migrant perceives that he can solve the new tension by re-emigrating to the context of origin, then return migration (urban-rural migration) may alternatively be interpreted as structurally adequate behaviour as in the case of the original rural-urban migration. In this second case the status in the original rural context, upon returning, must be higher than the present one in the

urban context.²⁹⁾ One might suggest that the classic target worker ideal type fits this second return case. The target worker changes his urban income status to his advantage in the rural area. The emphasis is on the *temporary* change, the *temporarily* acquired new income status is immediately 'consumed'.

In order to adequately understand the above mechanisms it is necessary to introduce the marginal condition of the relevance of membership in a context. According to Keintz's theory, outlined above, structural and anomic tension are only experienced when membership in an involving social system is relevant to a subunit. Thus a rural migrant actually experiences structural tension relief when first finding employment in town. That is, he is relatively better off than he was in the rural area. However, status improvement may last only as long as the migrant retains his rural frame of reference. When exchanging his rural frame of reference for an urban one the migrant may perceive his urban status position as extremely marginal (rank tension). Attempts at improving this marginal position might in turn result in status disequilibrium and so forth. Using this reference concept the differentiation between the interpretation of return migration as structurally adequate and anomic behaviour, respectively, becomes more lucid.

29) The possibilities for achieving a lasting higher status in the rural area after return migration are contested in African migration literature. Contextual qualifications as well as an age qualification of the migrants concerned are probably necessary. - Skinner, for instance, states that "migration itself brings little lasting prestige" (1960:383) and that a commoner cannot raise his status as a result of a trip (1960:394). According to Skinner's descriptive account it would appear that the economic gain is ephemeral. - Kerekore migrants choose advancement along urban status lines as an alternative to a low ascribed status in the rural social system (Garbett 1967). - Gutkind (1974:32) indicates that upward social mobility in town might be perceived as a possibility of increasing status in the rural home community. - Watson notes that rural status is measured by the number of followers a man has among the Mambwe of Northern Rhodesia (Zambia today). He reports that many commoners have succeeded in winning cash (through labour migration) and followers and have founded their own villages (1958:136). - Among the South African Pedi, who are dependent on the export of surplus manpower due to critical land shortage, the rural social system is extended to the urban place of work. Epstein (1969:260) citing Samson confirms that individuals who achieve influential positions in towns can translate them into positions of prestige within the tribal system when eventually they retire home. - Thus marginal conditions to upward social mobility after return migration may be related to : 1) the type of status (upward mobility is more likely on an achieved than on an ascribed status line) and 2) the discontinuity between rural and urban social systems in terms of economic dependence.

In the case of migration from a lower to a higher developed context we hypothesize that return migration is more likely to be structurally adequate when the migrant reverts to his original frame of reference, and that return migration is more likely to be anomic when the migrant retains the frame of reference of the higher developed context. It will be noted in this connection that the ideal type target worker never changes his rural frame of reference during his temporary sojourn in town.

By way of an example, Hoffmann-Nowotny (1973:253) demonstrates how in the case of Yugoslavian migrant workers, the first return migration in a series of migration cycles need not be classified as anomic behaviour. Consider that many Yugoslavian workers migrate for reasons of an unsatisfactory accommodation status in their area of origin and return when this status can be improved in the home area. If a worker changes his reference frame during his sojourn away from home, he is likely to experience structural tension on his return, which will compell him to re-emigrate from his Yugoslavian home. Thus Hoffmann-Nowotny argues, the first return migration need not be classified as anomic but subsequent returns are most likely to be. To support this interpretation Hoffmann-Nowotny emphasizes the reported fact that although Yugoslavian migrants may have emigrated with every intention of returning, they later refrained from doing so. Apparently, it was precisely because these workers realized that they had changed their frame of reference to that of the immigrant context and anticipated structural tension upon returning to their area of origin that they decided to stay on in the immigration context. Hoffmann-Nowotny concludes that return migration is obviously "an unproblematic act" (1973:253), when the migrant sets out to reach a certain target in the immigrant context and returns home when this target is reached.³⁰⁾

Returning to Mitchell's paradigm of circular migration, it would appear that some migrationcycles depicted in the series can be explained more convincingly than others. This is particularly the case if we assume that not all cycles can be explained in such simple terms of target

30) In order to relate the structural tension theory to other approaches, one might suggest that structurally adequate return migration following structurally adequate emigration is closely associated to the idea of a voluntary return migration following voluntary emigration. Similarly structurally adequate migration and return migration behaviour might be compared to migration induced by an urban pull (as against a rural push) and return migration caused by a rural pull (as against an urban push). The target worker type of circular migration fits all three approaches in the emphases: 'structurally adequate', 'voluntary', 'rural pull induced' return migrations respectively.

migration (see the discussion of the backward-sloping supply function above). So far the final cycle has been most adequately formulated in terms of the above theory. The ultimate return might be interpreted as a quest for resolving tensions which emerge quite suddenly at the end of a working life. The urban frame of reference is likely to be exchanged for the original rural one upon definite retirement and thus a new and satisfactory status equilibrium can be achieved at the rural home.

Likewise the frequent return trips of foreign mine labourers (contract labourers) in South Africa are possibly most judiciously interpreted as structurally adequate behaviour. The mine workers' situation is best likened to that of the target worker with the distinction that the "target" is set by external factors such as labour regulation policies. The migrant is forced to return home at the end of a contract. We might argue that prior knowledge of the termination of contracts inhibits a change of frame of reference from the lower developed home to the higher developed mine context. Furthermore it is suggested that the higher level of development of the in-migration context is possibly less obvious to migrants working in the mines than to those working in urban industrial centres. Men working in mines may be accommodated in "closed" compounds (cf. Bloom 1964:352) and in some cases pay may be deferred and directly remitted to the home country by the employer (cf. Prothero 1974). If structural tension upon the return home is anticipated its solution can virtually be resolved in advance if the mine worker perceives that he can sign up again for a new contract after the minimum specified period spent at home.

We shall now turn to a more recent type of migrant worker than the classical target worker. This migrant comes to town at approximately twenty years of age and spends his entire working life in town and expects to retire to the rural areas at the end of his migrant career. The initial rural-urban emigration and the ultimate urban-rural return migration easily lend themselves to theoretical interpretation as outlined above. What of the intermediate migration movements? Throughout his urban sojourn the migrant maintains contact with his rural home; this is the essentially African characteristic of circular migration. In Mitchell's schematic representation of circular migration we might consider the arrows from the urban to rural context to indicate return trips which are subsequently followed by re-emigration to the urban centre. Following Hoffmann-Nowotny's argumentation regarding the Yugoslavian circular migration phenomenon, we hypothesize that the first return trip may or may not be of an anomic type, but that subsequent return trips must most likely be identified as anomic behaviour. The subsequent re-emigration to town following each return trip must be interpreted as a tension resolving mechanism. Intervening variable is the change of frame of reference during the urban sojourn. The ultimate return is an exception in the series of returns because a conscious reverse change of reference back to the rural one permits a structurally adequate retreat to the rural home for retirement purposes.

Now to our study context. We fleetingly noted that there is a

tendency for Mitchell's 'return migration' of yesterday to be replaced today by the mere 'home visit'. The definite incision between migration cycles marked by a rural sojourn of six months to a couple of years is reduced to a token visit at the rural home. The causes and consequences in this reduction in time spent at the home area will be discussed later, at present we shall be concerned only with the question of whether these home visits are identical to return migrations in theoretical terms. In order to answer this question we shall have to consider what function this mechanism fulfills.

We have seen that an African migrant must invest in his old age security in the rural area due to lack of adequate social security in town. This is achieved by maintaining active interest in the home area expressed, among other behaviour, by regular return migration. In the literal sense of the word, the African migrant is role-playing when he returns to or visits his rural home. Constant practice at playing a rural role prepares him to take up his rural status positions at the end of a migrant career. We might go on to suggest that although tension is experienced by regular return movements with concomitant interruptions in a working career, this need not be the case with the home *visit*. Provided the home visit adequately guarantees that old age security in the rural area is forthcoming and that the frame of reference can be changed from the urban to the rural social value system upon retirement, we propose that the home 'visit' is a far superior variation of the re-emigration mechanism than the traditional 'return' home. The actor anticipates structural tension involved in re-immigrating to the rural area for a longer period of time and for this reason shortens his rural sojourn to the maximum time he can stay away without losing his urban status. This implies that a change of frame of reference is rendered superfluous during the entire urban working career. One might qualify this supposition by providing for two migrant types: The first type would avoid assuming the urban frame of reference and compare his urban situation to the rural one throughout his urban sojourn (similar to Mayer's (1961) red migrant who is in town but not of it); the second type would maintain the new urban frame of reference adopted after in-migration throughout his urban sojourn until retirement.

One of the reasons why we hypothesize that the ultimate return - and possibly many other re-emigration acts and home visits - should not be considered as anomic behaviour is that we assume that the African migrant is aware of his potentially marginal position in town, possibly even before he initially emigrates from the rural area in his youth. Anticipating insecurity in town (incomplete status configuration etc.) he is intent on keeping a safety valve open to adjust any tension resulting from return migration. This is achieved by changing the frame of reference in the manner described above. In migration and urbanization literature this constant switching of reference points has been conceptualized by referring to the urban African as "a man of two worlds" (cf. the 'alternation' model described above). Moreover, it is also important to note that simultaneous participation in two social systems meets common approval of reference groups in both the rural and urban setting to date. It has commonly been observed that rural migrants tend to form a substratum over

which the existing lowest stratum in urban society is superimposed. This, as we shall see later, is particularly pronounced in the sub-Saharan urbanization context. In Southern Africa urban re-stratification is further enhanced by a plural social structure with caste-like divisions between strata limiting mobility to within the substrata. This division is so distinct that we propose that the African migrant knows prematurely that he can never be fully integrated (used in the structural sense outlined above) in the White-dominated urban society and plans in advance to combat this. This 'realistic' perception of social reality enables a migrant to take adequate advance measures to cushion structural tension anticipated in the future. For this reason the adaptive mechanism involved in ultimately returning to the rural home is practised during the whole of a working lifetime.

It is however possible that the ultimate return is no longer needed as an adaptive mechanism. This may be determined at the level of the individual or at the level of the involving urban system. A convergence of changes at both levels presents a third alternative. It has frequently been pointed out that circular migration will cease when a change in given marginal conditions takes place. Reference is made to a change in external factors such as policy changes (Mitchell 1969a:178-179) and to a relaxation of the urban 'push' factor (Wilson 1972b:149ff.). It is highly likely that marginal conditions are instable in rapidly changing contexts in Southern Africa today.³¹⁾ Alternatively, the pressure for change might theoretically come from the migrants who aspire urban stabilization (cf. van der Horst 1964:44ff.) and take up urban commitments within the limits allowed, and break rural ties to the extent that an ultimate change of reference frame is unacceptable (due to the low degree of structuring of anomic tension only individual - as against collective or institutionalized - reaction is predicted for the study context). Varying interaction combinations between context and subunit are also possible when urban policy and migrant behaviour meet halfway. One might further like to ask what would happen if the urban structure were opened sufficiently to allow a migrant to equilibrate and complete his status

31) Reduction of the steep development gradient between rural and urban areas effected by a national policy of mobilizing rural contexts (e.g. acceleration of agricultural development programmes or decentralization of industry) will not be reviewed at this point for two reasons:
 1) It is assumed that such policy changes would theoretically prevent initial migration and we are predominantly concerned with the implications of changing marginal conditions for return migration here.
 2) Although such mobilization policies have been under discussion in the study context for some time and have reputedly been implemented in several Southern African contexts, the development stimulant does not appear to have had significant impact on the rural areas to make it worth considering here.
 We shall return to policies affecting rural development later.

configuration at a reasonably high rank by urban standards. Once a migrant has resolved his marginality in town, will he commit himself to urban life permanently? We shall explore this central theme of stabilization and urban commitment in its relationship to rural ties in the course of our study.

CHAPTER 3.

THE SETTING: SALISBURY AFRICAN TOWNSHIPS, RHODESIA.

An attempt is made in this chapter to briefly outline the historical input (following Brown 1973¹, cf. also Gray 1960; Barber 1967; Bowman 1973) in the study context, under the assumption that a certain familiarity with the background of events will place the dimensions of empirical observations in their proper perspective.

Rhodesia¹) is a land-locked country of approximately 390 622 square kilometres in south central Africa flanked by Zambia on the north, Mocambique on the east, South Africa on the south, Botswana and the Caprivi Strip of South West Africa, or Namibia on the west (see Figure 6. The indigenous Shona and Ndebele people of the area which is now Rhodesia first had to contend with European encroachment on their land in the late 1880s, when the British South Africa Company was granted a Royal Charter in 1889 for the purpose of promoting trade, commerce, civilization and good government in the region occupied by the Shona and Ndebele. Following the founding of Salisbury in 1890 by a group of White settlers organized by Cecil Rhodes, resentment at the intrusion of Europeans increased and open resistance began in 1893 and was finally crushed in 1897. Since Rhodesia was an off-shoot of English-speaking South Africa, to which Afrikaners were none the less welcome, its laws and customs were modelled on those of Natal and the Cape, and the unusually swift political advance of the settlers owed a great deal to the expectation that Rhodesia would eventually become part of South Africa. However, according to a 1922 referendum, status as a largely self-governing colony was preferred. The British South Africa Company continued to administer the colony until the 1923 Constitution granted the colony full self-government under the United Kingdom, except that legislation affecting African interests were reserved to the British Secretary of State.

Although Britain retained a right of veto on discriminatory and constitutional matters, she did little to prevent the consolidation of a racially stratified and segregated society in the 1920s and 1930s.

1) It will be noted that the historical input only accounts for events taking place prior to the 1975 study and later events are not reported. Although this procedure may prematurely date a study undertaken in a context undergoing rapid social, economic and foremost political change, it is justified from a methodological point of view, because only occurrences *prior* to the study can be relevant for observations made in its course. In keeping with this approach, all name and place designations refer to ones in common usage at the time of the study, although conventions may possibly have changed by the time this report is published.



Figure 6 Map of Rhodesia

Until the Second World War the economy of Rhodesia was a struggling one in which the export of primary products from small scale mining and European farming remained dominant. The demand for strategic minerals and for agricultural produce helped to contribute to a rate of growth estimated at 9 per cent per annum for the period 1938-58. In the post-war era the boom continued, and immigration, mainly from Britain and South Africa, caused a steep rise in the White population.

In September 1953 the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland (today Malawi), linking Northern (today Zambia) and Southern Rhodesia (today Rhodesia) came into existence. The Federation proved of particular economic benefit to Rhodesia (cf. Bowman 1973:22-23), but the African nationalist movements in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia frustrated hopes of obtaining Dominion Status for the Federation while it was still White controlled. It was dissolved in December 1963 and the Southern Rhodesian Government resumed the powers which had been transferred to the Federal Government.

From the early 1940s the need for a fuller use of the country's human resources was recognised by the 'establishment' party. Manufacturers needed a more reliable and skilled African labour force than prevailed with migratory labour, and they would also benefit from increased African purchasing power if wages were increased and steps taken to improve accommodation in the fast-growing African townships surrounding, but not part of the European towns. Increased expenditure and attention was given to African commercial agriculture. African education was greatly expanded: the first secondary school for Africans opened in 1946, and in 1957, after the necessary amendments to the Land Apportionment Act (see below) a non-racial University was opened. The Industrial Conciliation Act was amended in 1959 (see below) and a franchise act in 1957 increased the number of African voters by means of a special roll, and in 1961 provision for limited African membership of Parliament was introduced. These changes had little impact on the everyday life of the vast mass of Africans and did not significantly reduce inequalities.

Such liberal policies aroused White opposition and after the slow-down in economic growth in 1958 and the increasing African challenge to all aspects of White domination, began a period of increasingly bitter political conflict. By 1945 the changing economic tempo had begun to give African protest more vigour and a wider outlook. After the banning of the African National Congress in February 1959 (September 1957 -), some of its wealthier and more educated members were drawn into the National Democratic Party (NDP) formed in January 1960 whose aim was 'one man, one vote'. The NDP was banned in December 1961 and its successor, the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) (December 1961 - September 1962) was banned in 1962. The nationalist movement then split into the People's Caretaker Council and the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) (both August 1963 - August 1964), which were soon banned as security measures. Nationalist movements then went underground. Leaders in exile began to infiltrate armed guerillas into the country and guerilla incursions have been a feature of the Rhodesian situation ever since. The Government has reacted strongly to Black opposition and effectively curbed all African political

activity, except in very narrow channels, with a vast new web of security legislation. States of emergency have been employed regularly in Rhodesia, in fact since November 5, 1965, Rhodesia has been under a constant state of emergency. In 1964, states of emergency were declared in the two largest Salisbury African Townships of Harare and Highfield (see below), when many nationalist leaders were restricted or detained.

In 1959 the Southern Rhodesian Government proposed that the Constitution eliminated the majority of the reserved powers and also conferred on Southern Rhodesia wide powers for the amendment of her own Constitution. In 1964, it was agreed between the British and Southern Rhodesian Governments that the term 'Colony' should be dropped and henceforth the country should be referred to as 'Southern Rhodesia'. In October 1964 following the independence of Zambia (Northern Rhodesia), the Southern Rhodesian Government dropped the prefix 'Southern'. Rhodesia is fully self-governing in respect of its internal affairs, but because it does not yet fully enjoy sole responsibility for its international relations it cannot be regarded as an independent sovereign state. On November 11th, 1965, the Smith Government, elected by the most exclusively White electorate, unilaterally declared Rhodesia independent of the British Crown. The Queen then passed the Southern Rhodesia Act which declares that Southern Rhodesia continues to be part of Her Majesty's Dominions. The legal name of the country is 'Southern Rhodesia', although 'Rhodesia' remains in common usage.

After the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) prolonged negotiations between the British and Rhodesian Government set in. In 1969 the Rhodesian Government provocatively emphasized its confidence by enacting a new Constitution which came into force and also made Rhodesia a Republic on March 2nd, 1970. The new Constitution, while allowing a theoretical eventual parity of representation between Africans and Europeans, permanently excluded majority rule and completely separated the franchise on a racial basis by eliminating the common roll. African representation through tribally constituted electoral colleges was increased in line with the regime's reliance on the African chiefs for support since the rise of nationalism. The proposed settlement agreement of 1971 based on a slight modification of the 1969 Constitution was tested by the 'Pearce Commission' which found that the majority of Africans opposed the settlement proposals. Strong African feeling had become channelled by the newly-formed African National Council (ANC) led by Bishop A. Muzorewa, which has operated to date. The ANC has refrained from calling itself a political party in order to avoid banning.

Despite sanctions since UDI the Rhodesian economy has not collapsed, but sanctions do prevent full realization of the growth potential. In 1972 Rhodesia's gross national product was 1935 million US

dollars.²⁾

On the 31st December 1974³⁾ the Rhodesian population of 6,2 million is distributed over four racial groups: 5 900 000 Africans (95,10%), 274 000 Europeans (4,42%), 9 900 Asians (0,16%) and 19 900 Coloureds (0,32%) (Central Statistical Office (CSO): Monthly Bulletin of Statistics). An estimated 19,4 per cent of the Rhodesian population is urbanized, i.e. living in the main towns. Alone the two major cities Salisbury, the capital city, and Bulawayo, with populations of 545 000 and 309 000 respectively, account for 70,9 per cent of the country's urban population. Nevertheless the increase of African town population is 30,1 per cent between the period 1961 and 1969 and Africans make up the majority of town dwellers with 78,5 per cent in 1969 (Gargett 1971: 20.1). The rate of increase of 9,3 per cent in the population of cities (100 000 and more inhabitants) is cited for Rhodesia by the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (1969:143). According to the 1969 Census the natural increase of Africans is 3,6 per cent, that of Europeans is 1,1 per cent. Over the nine years 1956-64 the average annual rate of increase of the African population was 3,25 per cent while over the succeeding nine years 1965-73 it was 3,47 per cent and still rising (Corporate Development Group 1974:1-3). This gives the Rhodesian African population one of the highest rates of natural increase in the world. Table 3.1 summarizes population growth in the African and European sections for this century.

The coexistence of several ethnic groups in the study context has given rise to much speculation as regards the type of relationship between groups and its implications for the social structure. This is an extremely important issue for this study and will therefore be elaborated in more detail here. It is possibly most appropriate to follow some arguments put forward by social scientists interested in what is commonly referred to as 'pluralism' in Africa (Kuper 1967; 1969a,b; Smith 1969; van den Berghe 1964; 1969; 1970; 1971; Henderson 1964; Mitchell 1970). In many instances this discussion is simply a continuation of the assimilation or integration aspect of migration, which was above relegated to the local level and discussed in terms of urbanization. Pluralism is commonly dealt with at the societal level and is therefore primarily regarded as a marginal condition relating to the specific context of study.

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- 2) References to the pound (£) and to the dollar (\$) are to Rhodesian currency unless otherwise stated. Rhodesia converted to decimal currency on the 19th February 1970 at the rate of £1 = \$2,00.
- 3) To aid comparison, statistics are given for the date nearest to January 1975 when data collection for the major survey commenced, even if more recent statistics were available at the time of writing.

TABLE 3.1.

Rhodesian population growth, 1901-1970

Year	Africans ^a	Europeans	Total ^b
1901	500 000	11 000	510 000
1907	670 000	14 000	690 000
1911	740 000	23 600	770 000
1921	860 000	33 600	900 000
1926	930 000	39 200	970 000
1931	1 080 000	49 900	1 130 000
1936	1 260 000	55 400	1 320 000
1941	1 400 000	69 000	1 480 000
1946	1 770 000	82 400	1 860 000
1951	2 170 000	135 600	2 320 000
1956	2 990 000	177 100	3 180 000
1961	3 550 000	221 500	3 790 000
1965	4 070 000	224 000	4 320 000
1970	5 130 000	249 000	5 405 000

Source: 1961 *Census of the European, Asian and Coloured Population* (Salisbury, Central Statistical Office, 1965?) and *Economic Survey for Rhodesia for 1970* (Salisbury, Government Printing Office, 1971).

- a: All figures for the African population prior to 1956 are estimates and are now considered to be undervalued. Moreover, because of changes in methods in estimation, the figures above and below the two lines (1941 and 1946) are not comparable. The figures from 1961 on are much more reliable.
- b: The total includes the small Asian and Coloured populations. Early totals are estimates, subject to the qualification mentioned on the accuracy of African population figures.

Cited in Bowman 1973:13.

The notion of plural societies in tropical societies under colonial domination was first introduced by J.S. Furnivall in 1948 and a decade later expanded by M.G. Smith in an essay on Social and Cultural Pluralism. Meanwhile the discussion on pluralism has progressed so that Kuper (1969a) speaks of two antithetical traditions in regard to the nature of societies characterized by pluralism. The first younger tradition refers to the theory of 'plural' society, in which stability between plural sections is precarious and threatened by sharp cleavages, whilst the older tradition refers to the ideal type of 'pluralistic' society, in which the pluralism of the various constituent groups provides conditions favourable to stable democratic government.

The two traditions are often distinguished at the societal level by reserving the term 'pluralistic society' for conceptions in the second tradition. At the structural level, they are sometimes distinguished on the basis of assumed differences in the character of the plural units: in the analysis of 'plural societies' the plural units are generally racial, ethnic, religious or regional groups, while in the analysis of 'pluralistic societies', they are functionally differentiated groups. Although there may be some overlap in the phenomena with which the two traditions are concerned they derive different expectations and theoretical models of characteristic social relations between plural sections of the society.

Kuper refers to the first tradition as the 'conflict' model of plural societies which is derived from Furnivall. According to Smith (1969) pluralism can be defined with equal precision in institutional or in political terms. The integration of plural sections is not voluntary, but usually dictated by economic circumstances and strengthened by coercion. Cultural diversity is implicit in the concept of the plural society and the necessary and sufficient condition of pluralism and necessitates non-democratic regulation of group relationships. Plural societies are held together by regulation and not by integration. Smith's plural society entails a dominant minority and a subordinate majority.

The second tradition is referred to as the 'equilibrium' model which tends to associate democracy with pluralism. The political structure of the society, in the 'equilibrium' model, is in itself plural. The social basis for political pluralism is to be found in social pluralism.

One means of integrating the two conceptual models is to define pluralism as characteristic of all societies and then to make some distinctions between the type and degree of pluralism involved. Social, cultural and structural pluralism and varying dependency relationships between types are proposed as basic to definitions of plurality.

A most useful definition for our purposes is formulated in purely structural terms. Although following the first 'conflict' tradition, van den Berghe does not agree with Smith that institutional incompatibility based on cultural diversity is a necessary condition of pluralism. Pluralism is regarded as a variable and stratification based on race, caste, estate or class as instances of pluralism. According to van den Berghe societies are pluralistic insofar as they exhibit to a greater or lesser degree two basic features:

- 1) segmentation into corporate groups that frequently, though not necessarily, have different cultures or subcultures; and
- 2) a social structure compartmentalized into analogous, parallel,

non-complementary but distinguishable sets of institutions"
(1969:67).4)

To this core definition he adds a number of characteristics frequently associated with pluralism, such as relative absence of value consensus, cultural heterogeneity, conflict, relative sectional autonomy, sectional domination, relative importance of coercion and economic interdependence as the basis of social integration.

When reviewing some of the general characteristics of societies which may be expected to significantly influence the expression of pluralism within them, the importance of demographic aspects such as *relative numbers* or the demographic ratio, and *absolute numbers* has often been recognised. Kuper (1969b:470-1) assumes that there may be a higher probability of sectional dominance resulting from the contact between ethnic units of roughly similar technologies and organizational resources, where there is substantial disparity in numbers. Conversely, where the dominant section is a small numerical minority, its domination should generally presuppose a more advanced technology and greater organizational capacity. It is observed that once the plural society is established, the demographic ratio may become the basis of specific political action, influencing immigration politics, communal and qualified franchise arrangements and the like.

According to some theories of pluralism extreme superordination of a minority group should maximize conflict which in turn should produce structural change in society. The maintenance of the status quo of a small dominant minority group in plural societies along with the suppression of conflict may partially be attributed to differing demographic aspects. In this connection Mitchell observes that in Africa the smaller the ratio of Europeans to the population as a whole the sooner the Africans gain control. In Central Africa, for example, in 1961 when independence was on the point of being achieved in Malawi and Zambia there were 3 and 22,5 Europeans respectively in every thousand of the population. In Rhodesia, at the same time, there were 59 Europeans in every thousand (1970:338). The South African 'racial' composition

4) This definition differs in emphasis from an earlier one which reads: "Plural societies are characterised in part by the coexistence of autonomous but non-complementary sub-societies which do not share common values, but individual members of which interact in highly segmental, though crucial relationships. Rather than consensus and interdependence of parts, what holds such societies together is thus partially a network of segmental ties between individual members of ethnic or racial groups some of whom may indeed 'shuttle' or 'commute' between cultural sub-systems" (van den Berghe 1964:14-15).

of 1960 was even more extreme, the Europeans representing 19,4 per cent or 194 in every thousand of the total population (van den Berghe 1970: 346). If coercion and economic interdependence are characteristic of 'plural' societies there are "at the crudest level .. more of the ruling racial class to bear arms to crush any violent expression of opposition" (Mitchell 1970:338) and to maintain the economic and administrative organization which increases the dependency of the subordinate race for subsistence and welfare.

As regards absolute numbers, it has been suggested with reference to the White settler situation, that plural divisions are accentuated with an increase in the number of White settlers. Integration may be slowed down with increasing numbers. It is variously recognised that the cultural background of different settler types regardless of absolute numbers may set the norms for social distance (Kuper 1969b:471ff.). Comparing dominant White settler groups on a world-wide basis Andreski (1971:31) stresses the effect of their religious organization and social origin on sectional integration.

The most important dimensions of variation in manifestations of pluralism which relate to the mode of incorporation of sections may be the following: particularism-universalism, closely related to this is the dimension of segregation-assimilation. Further dimensions are cultural diversity-homogeneity, inequality-equality, discontinuity-continuity, and following Dahrendorf, superimposition-dissociation (Kuper 1969b:473ff.).

An outline taking some of these dimensions into account has particular relevance for us when introducing the background to this study. Although Kuper's analysis refers to South African urban areas, it has pertinence for the Rhodesian context which might be considered "its *de facto* extension" (Andreski 1971:33).

According to Kuper (1967:131ff.) African urban pluralism is highly distinctive and entails a complex interplay of particularistic and universalistic access criteria to central institutions in both White and African sectors of urban society. For this reason African plural societies may be *sui generis* and not readily fit sequential models of assimilation. For instance with rising industrialization one would expect a growing emphasis on achievement criteria, especially in the urban areas where division of labour and development of industry is most pronounced, yet in South Africa, the most developed of all states on the African continent, the principle of ascription pervades most spheres of social interaction.

The distinctive characteristics of the structural discontinuities in the new sub-Saharan towns are:

- 1) Extreme social distance between racial groups arising from the convergence of many sources of power in the dominant group (1967:133).
- 2) The presence of special mechanisms, parallel and intercalary, for

maintaining and bridging the discontinuities between structures.

The structural discontinuities between the dominant and subordinate groups are a potential threat to the political unity of the plural society. Therefore, mechanisms of control are needed to strengthen the potentially disruptive consequences of structural discontinuities (1967:135ff.). For instance, intercalary and parallel structures help to maintain the sharp racial discontinuities.

- a) Parallel structures refer to a basic structural separation of racial groups within the same organization which function to avoid equal status contact.
- b) Intercalary racial structures refer to structures inserted or forming between the racial groups, which serve both to separate and coordinate their activities.
- c) Dissonance or non-alignment between structure and culture occurs where cultural differences and structural divisions do not coincide. Sharp tensions between Africans and Whites are perceived at the point of maximum dissonance between cultural similarity and structural cleavage, namely in the relation between Africans of high achievement, who have acquired the culture of the Whites and lowly Whites of poor achievement.

The patterning of structural discontinuity and of cultural diversity varies in the different institutional spheres. The extent of cultural diversity is maximum in the political sphere and minimal in the educational sphere. There may also be regularities in the relationships between the forms of structural discontinuity and the nature and extent of cultural diversity and similarity. Thus parallel structures may be found where there is a shared culture within the framework of the institution and equality with reference to ultimate goals, intercalary structures where there is cultural diversity and explicit domination. The differential emphases on structural types is exemplified as follows for various institutional spheres (Kuper 1967:140-141).

<u>Institutional sphere</u>	<u>Structural emphases</u>
- Economy	Stratification, (segregation in case of status equality)
- Religion	Parallelism, segregation (voluntary)
- Education	Parallelism, segregation
- Government	Stratification, segregation, intercalary structures.

When speaking of stratification in South African society van den Berghe (1970) refers to South Africa as a 'caste' system qualifying caste with racial or colour caste in order to avoid equivocation with Hindu caste. Caste is minimally defined as "an endogamous group, hierarchically ranked in relation to other groups, and wherein membership is determined

by birth and for life" (1970:351). In most general terms, South African society consists of four racial castes and each of these is subdivided according to the usual criteria of a western class system. The dominant racial caste is composed of Europeans. Although class differences exist they tend to become secondary. Classes do form, but within each group and under the influence of the general racial stratification pattern, which affects White and African class structure in different ways. The gulf that separates Europeans from non-Europeans (referring collectively to all other colour castes) serves to minimize class consciousness and the perception of objective class differences within the European group. The lowest caste of the African majority is both stratified into emerging social classes and segmented into ethnic groups, but ethnic affiliation recedes in importance as social classes emerge from the process of westernization. Traditional Southern Bantu society is unstratified in western class terms, though there are wide status differences between commoners and chiefs. Ownership of cattle, polygyny and numerous descendants are important status symbols in traditional rural society, which has its own prestige system independent of the emerging class system of urbanized Africans. Traditional Africans are thus on the margin of a class system which they do not accept. Van den Berghe lists education, Christianity, occupation, clothing and moral 'respectability' as the principle status criteria among urban Africans. Wealth, he contends, does not play the role it does in the White community because the scope for capital accumulation is stringently limited (1970:363).

This description of South African stratification may be regarded as equally applicable to the Rhodesian context. The cleavage between the European minority and the African majority (the intermediate castes of Indians and Coloureds are numerically so insignificant that they are negligible for purposes of this study) is equally pronounced. Although the European minority is ethnically and culturally heterogeneous, it is a more nearly classless society than that of South Africa and Great Britain from which places the majority of the White people come (McEwan 1963b:431). Any differences within the dominant group tend to be overridden by the gulf between races. Apart from foreign African immigrants the African population section is ethnically less segmented, the major segments referring more to a linguistic-cultural than to a tribal distinction. In times of nationalistic efforts this cultural difference is suppressed in order to present a united front. Stratification on western-European lines is occurring in the urban areas. Van den Berghe's exclusion of wealth differentiation may be less pertinent in the study context, (a point we shall discuss below). Moreover, it should be noted that other South African authorities do add income differentials to status criteria today. Hellman for instance writes that although "education was formerly the main determinant of status, today as throughout South Africa, money and possessions tend to outweigh other attributes, although education, particularly a university degree, commands great respect in the African community" (1971:172).

Returning to our study context, we propose that the plural model

of racial castes as outlined above, may be used as a contextual framework for analysis. The dominant minority group is composed of White settlers who are largely urbanized and the subordinate African group is for the most part still in subsistence agriculture. The distinction between these two sections is congruent with the dual economy concept (which may be regarded as a sub-differentiation of the plural model). The urban-industrial sector of the economy is located in areas where White interests are paramount, the Black interests are vested in the Tribal Trust Lands where land is still held on a traditional communal basis and subsistence farming and some cash cropping is engaged in. The overlap between the two economies and the plural sectors occurs in the urban areas where members of the African group are accepted in a working capacity. It is in the urban area that the impact of the plural society is felt most intensely. In some spheres the cultural diversity between and even within racial groups is allowed free play whereas in others the appreciation of common values of both racial groups might have provided the conditions for 'pluralism' in both the 'equilibrium' and the 'conflict' tradition. In Central Africa Mitchell contends that this interest in the same goals has become the basis for conflict, for the Africans did not "concur to the status they had been allocated in respect to their access to these goals. The common interest became both the basis of co-operation and the source of conflict" (1970:334). Although the access to western-European goals may be severely limited for members of the African 'caste', we argue that there is *sufficient scope within the African urban section to be able to speak of status grouping or differential mobility potential*. From a methodological viewpoint this argument provides a justification for analysing only the *relative spatial and social mobility within the African section of the urban population in the involving societal confines of the African rural and urban contexts*. It should be noted that the choice of this mode of analysis is made purely on the grounds of expediency and by no means sanctions the range of urban African mobility potential. The gist of the argument runs that if the range were too narrow for meaningful distinction of status categories *within the African section*, this mode of analysis would be methodologically unsound.

It is thus proposed that it is feasible - for study purposes - to detach the African rural context and, within the overlapping White and Black economic sectors, the African urban context, both involved in the national Rhodesian context. A further specifying step is made by isolating the Salisbury urban context and its rural hinterland from all other urban and rural areas in Rhodesia. In the following sections we shall examine how the action space for urban actors' mobility on central status lines (see Chapter 2) has been widened from a historical viewpoint - at least sufficiently widened to permit a study of differential social mobility within the urban African population of Salisbury. A few exemplary aspects have been selected for demonstration in the context area, namely *income and employment, tenure, accommodation, consumption standard* using power and water as example, *civic status and education*.

1. Income and employment.

Obviously income and employment opportunities involve a multitude of aspects and a full review surpasses the scope of this section. The causes for labour migration in Rhodesia are generally identical to those found elsewhere in Africa (see Chapter 2), starting with migration instigated by taxes at the beginning of the century to land pressure and the attraction of higher wages in cities inducing rural-urban influx in the last decades. Bowman tersely summarizes this trend as follows:

Africans moved to the towns for several reasons. Tax pressures forced males to earn some income each year. Overcrowded reserves were unable to provide sufficient land and food for the African population, and industrial expansion in Rhodesia provided new job opportunities (1973:47).

The latter was particularly pronounced in the years after World War 2 as shown in Table 3.2.

Circulatory migration prevailed until recently when the phenomenon coined 'quasi-stabilization' in Chapter 2, referring to a continued urban sojourn during working age, took over. The introduction of the Land Husbandry Act in 1951, involving a resettlement of the African population and making some people landless, made itself felt in the urban areas in the late fifties before the Act was quietly abandoned in 1961.

The move to town was evident in the Salisbury area as well. Table 3.3 depicts the increase in African working population from 1936 to 1956. The Director of African Administration (DAA) reports that between 1941 and 1946 the annual rate at which Natives entered employment rose at a rate of 2 000 per annum, this increased between 1946 and 1951 at a rate of 4 200 per annum (DAA 1955:3). Over the entire period of twenty years, the average rate of increase stands at 2 500 per annum.

In Salisbury the growth of the African population in more recent years is given in Table 3.4. The Corporate Development Group (1974:1-10) estimates that the annual influx from outside the city averaged about 2,23 per cent per annum of the existing population of the city in the period 1961 - 1973. The estimated average influx into Salisbury has increased substantially in the latter part of this period as shown in Table 3.4.1.

The trend toward stabilization of the labour force was carefully watched over in Salisbury. In a survey of records of the city's labour force during the fifties, it was reported that during the period from July 1950 and June 1956 348 000 Natives had worked in the city and the Natives concerned had worked an average of 4,82 months before leaving the city again (DAA 1957:128). A breakdown of this average is given in Table 3.5.

Table 3.2.

Africans employed in various industrial sectors of the Rhodesian economy, 1936 - 1968

Year ^a	Mining		Agriculture		Manufacturing ^b		Other ^c		Total ^d Number
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
1936	84 000	33	83 000	33	34 000	13	52 000	21	254 000
1941	85 000	28	103 000	34	47 000	15	69 000	23	303 000
1946	70 000	18	150 000	40	67 000	18	90 000	24	377 000
1951	64 000	12	226 000	43	149 000	28	91 000	17	530 000
1956	61 000	10	248 000	40	182 000	30	119 000	20	610 000
1961	49 000	8	249 000	40	184 000	29	143 000	23	624 000
1968	41 000	7	239 000	38	121 000	20	220 000	35	622 000

Source: *Report of the Advisory Committee: The Development of the Economic Resources of Southern Rhodesia with Particular Reference to the Role of African Agriculture* (the Phillips Report) (Salisbury, Government Printing Office, 1962), p.382, and *Economic Survey for Rhodesia for 1968* (Salisbury, Government Printing Office, 1969).

- a: Figures for 1936 to 1946 are not strictly comparable to the 1951 to 1968 figures because of changes in classification of occupation.
- b: Manufacturing figures include Africans employed in electrical and water services, construction, and transport and communication. Between 1951 and 1961 only, the manufacturing figure includes Africans working in commerce. The removal of this category largely accounts for the drop in the 1968 manufacturing figure.
- c: For the 1951 to 1968 period this category is almost wholly services; previously it had included some jobs now covered in manufacturing.
- d: Because of rounding, the totals do not always match.

Cited in Bowman 1973:47.

Table 3.3.

Salisbury African working population

Census Year	Natives in employment	Average increase per annum
1936	17 678	-
1941	26 609	1 806
1946	36 873	2 053
1951	59 795	4 584
1956	67 673	1 575

Source: DAA 1957:14.

Table 3.4.

Growth of the African population of Salisbury

Year	Africans	African proportion of total population	Annual rate of increase of African population	Estimated influx	
		%	%	%	Number
1961	214 000	69,4	(7-year moving averages)		
1962	214 000	69,2		-2,56	-5 478
1963	218 000	69,1		-2,44	-5 270
1964	220 000	70,3		-2,34	-5 101
1965	230 000	71,1	4,01	1,15	2 530
1966	230 000	70,6	3,88	-3,29	-7 567
1967	260 000	72,8	5,53	9,63	22 149
1968	280 000	73,4	7,08	4,17	10 842
1969	280 000	72,4	7,52	-3,61	-10 108
1970	315 000a	73,7	8,84	9,02	25 256
1971	352 000a	74,8		8,38	26 397
1972	379 000a	74,9		4,22	14 854
1973	414 000a	75,8		5,53	20 959

Source: Corporate Development Group, City of Salisbury 1974:1-10, 5-3.

a: Adjusted from Central Statistical Office figures. The accuracy of population figures for the city varies somewhat from year to year. They are most reliable at and around the Census years of 1962 and 1969.

Table 3.4.1.

Growth of the African population of Salisbury

Period	Average natural increase in the African population (national average)	Average total increase in Salisbury's African population	Estimated average influx into Salisbury
1962/67	3,37	3,40	0,03
1968/73	3,52	8,14	4,62

Source: Corporate Development Group, City of Salisbury 1974:5-4.

Table 3.5.

Average months worked per employer in Salisbury in 1951-1956

Southern Rhodesia (Rhodesia)	4,81
Northern Rhodesia (Zambia)	5,53
Nyasaland (Malawi)	5,04
Portuguese East Africa (Mocambique)	4,67
Other	4,87

Source: DAA 1957:129, brackets added.

The figures in Table 3.6 "reflect the number of employers served, i.e. 347 922 by 157 311 Natives over the years 1950 - 1956 inclusive, which indicates that each Native while working in Salisbury serves an average of 2,2 employers before departing" (DAA 1957:129).

Table 3.6.

Salisbury's African labour force during 1950-1956 (N= 157 311)

Employers served	By Southern Rhodesians		By total Natives	
	Number	%	Number	%
1	65 804	59,1	244 603	70,3
2	27 410	24,6	69 103	19,8
3	11 249	10,1	22 321	6,4
4	4 814	4,3	8 277	2,4
5	1 882	1,7	3 238	1,0
6	256	0,2	380	0,1
Total	111 415	100,0	347 922	100,0

Source: Excerpt from Table: DAA 1957:130. Only figures relating to Rhodesian workers and total number workers shown.

The implementation of the Foreign Migratory Act of 1958 effectively reduced the number of foreign work seekers from Portuguese East Africa (today Mocambique) (cf. Clarke 1974b:91ff.) in Salisbury. According to the Director of African Administration the number of work passes issued to foreigners dropped by 14 724 or 49,2 per cent in the period 1958/59 to 1959/60. A drop in labour turnover to 78,3 per cent in 1959/60 as opposed to 84,0 per cent in 1958/59 was also observed (DAA 1960:32). Similar trends of decreasing labour turnover during the 1950s and

1960s are also reported for Rhodesia's other major city, Bulawayo.⁵⁾

Apart from employment opportunities, wages for Africans were rising, though high proportions of workers were successively reported to live below the Poverty Datum Line (PDL).⁶⁾ Bowman (1973:48) writes that the overall average annual wage for an employed African rose from 64 pounds per year in 1954 to 114 pounds in 1963. In terms of constant prices, however this growth amounted to just over one pound per year. Similarly, in the following decade, if average African earnings in Rhodesia have risen from 212 dollars in 1962 to 357 dollars in 1973, the consumer price index for Africans has risen from 94,4 to 122,8 points in the same period (CSO, Monthly Digest of Statistics).

Table 3.7 summarizes African wages by key industrial sectors in the 1954 - 1963 period.

- 5) Gargett writes that:

"In the Bulawayo municipal service in 1966, employees with under one year of service represented only 10% of the labour force, as against 57,8% in 1960 and 60,5% in 1956. In 1956, only 20% of the employees occupied family accommodation; in 1966, 57%. A survey of labour turnover in ten Bulawayo firms gave the following results indicating a trend to remain longer in the same employment:

Year	Period in Employment in Same Firm.		
	Under 5 years	5-10 years	Over 10 years
1958	84,9%	13,6%	3,5%
1964	69,1%	20,7%	10,0%
1968	62,4%	26,2%	11,4%

Sources: - Bulawayo City, Housing and Amenities Department, 1967, Evidence to the Constitutional Commission including background information on the African population in Bulawayo. (Stencilled memorandum, n.d., u.p.). P.3. - Report of Director of Housing and Amenities, Bulawayo 1969: Annexure 2c." (1971:28).

- 6) Poverty Datum Lines (PDL) relating to Rhodesia were calculated by Bettison (1960) and more recently by Cubitt and Riddell (1974). Insofar as Salisbury was concerned the 1960 Bettison report pointed out that the average married man with two minor children was earning £8.10.0 a month but in order to survive he should be paid £15.0.0 (DAA 1962:3). In 1974, the PDL was defined as "the income required to satisfy the minimum necessary consumption needs of a family of given size and composition within a defined environment in a condition of basic physical health and social decency" (Cubitt, Riddell 1974:5, 114). The Salisbury urban PDL for the average family unit of six occupying municipal accommodation was \$73,52 per month in January 1974 (Cubitt, Riddell 1974:116).

Even if the rise in wages did not effectively increase African purchasing power, it is evident that differential earning opportunities according to sector are offered, which is precisely the point we wish to emphasize here.

Table 3.7.

Average annual wages of Rhodesian Africans in major employment sectors 1954 and 1963

	1954		1963	
	Number employed	Wages (pounds)	Number employed	Wages (pounds)
Agriculture	218 000	48	257 300	67
Mining	62 400	83	40 500	115
Manufacturing	62 500	65	66 500	184
Construction	51 000	65	30 800	150
Domestic service	76 100	71	95 000	105
Other	84 000	-	112 900	-
Total	554 000	64	603 000	114

Source: *National Accounts and Balance of Payments of Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland and Southern Rhodesia 1954-1963* (Salisbury, Central Statistical Office, 1964), Table 161.

Cited in Bowman 1973:48.

Moreover, Harris (1974:47-53) in a review of training facilities for Blacks in Rhodesia mentions that differential scope for improving skills by industrial sector exists. The highest scope is yielded where jobs cannot be fragmented.

Differential access to income is also found at the local level. The Salisbury Urban African Budget Survey of 1969 (CSO 1970) distinguishes between income groups arranged in quintiles ranging from an average monthly income of \$26,94 to \$99,97 (CSO 1970:6). Furthermore it is noted that since the last budget survey undertaken in the Salisbury urban area in 1963 the average income rose by 41 per cent and average expenditure by 24 per cent, with a consequential increase in apparent savings. The 24 per cent rise in expenditure is appreciably greater than the 16 per cent rise in the African consumer price index, so that there was a significant rise in real consumption per household (CSO 1970:4).

The number of Africans employed in the Salisbury area and differential earnings by sectors are given for Salisbury in Table 3.8 and 3.9.

		s e r v i c e s										
		Manu- facturing	Electri- city and Water	Construc- tion	Finance	District-	Trans- port	Public Admini- stration	Edu- cation	Health	Private	Other
1969 Census National Average Earnings	Numbers	32 747	1 593	12 668	1 722	17 737	5 542	5 152	2 655	1 804	43 304	8 380
		474	400	385	656	403	654	408	609	564	252	419
1966 National Average Earnings	Numbers*	27 413	1 359	10 648	1 435	14 877	4 682	4 304	2 265	1 510	39 170	7 023
		426	368	367	580	349	632	367	506	486	243	328
1961 Census National Average Earnings	Numbers	32 436	1 553	8 761	1 334*	13 823*	5 835	4 386*	2 270*	1 534*	36 230	7 146*
		286	280	270	304	235	377	274	394	248	199	323

* Due to change in classification of industry - figures were split on the 1969 proportions.

Source: Central Statistical Office, private communication Ref. No. LS/3/01, 22/4/75.

Notes: Agriculture and Mining and Quarrying have been omitted due to the inadequate regional breakdown for these industries.

All Domestic figures have been estimated based on the 1969 Census of Employees. The number of employees shown is an average of the total employed in each quarter of a particular year. Average earnings have been calculated on the basis of total earnings as a ratio of average numbers employed. Where average earnings were not available, the National Average for the particular industry was shown instead.

Table 3.9.

Salisbury : African employees by industrial sector, total earnings and average earnings

	s e r v i c e s										
	Manu- facturing	Elec- tricity and water	Publi- c construc- tion	Finance	Distri- bution	Transport	Public Admini- stration	Education	Health	Private Domestic (a)	Other
1971											
Numbers	44 032	1 292	...	1 902	22 547	7 500	7 527	3 315	1 815	48 862	9 060
Total	22 178 240	716 300	...	1 497 100	11 711 700	5 509 600	4 199 900	2 404 900	1 377 200	13 272 700	4 585 000
Average	504	554	...	787	519	735	558	725	759	272	506
1972											
Numbers	49 967	1 315	5 005	2 057	25 662	8 340	7 375	2 927	1 892	52 082	10 195
Total	26 317 460	765 990	3 015 930	1 578 860	13 650 730	6 459 380	4 785 920	1 826 680	1 552 250	14 928 120	5 180 530
Average	560	582	603	768	532	774	649	623	820	287	508
1973											
Numbers	50 822	1 479	5 598	2 082	28 544	8 933	8 804	3 111	2 026	55 562	10 621
Total	30 774 532	892 836	3 297 531	1 820 641	16 031 831	7 244 748	5 597 389	2 091 532	1 710 057	18 916 205	5 885 681
Average	605	604	593	883	559	811	638	672	844	340	554
1974*											
Numbers	55 864	1 742	7 070	2 135	29 363	8 960	7 461	3 216	2 061	58 789	11 671
Total	27 223 660	958 341	3 144 734	1 606 905	13 378 326	5 997 431	4 272 209	1 832 629	1 395 938	15 662 178	5 292 390
Average	487	550	445	753	456	669	573	570	677	266	453

* First three quarters only

... Figures not available.

(a) Figures are estimated based on the 1969 Census.

Source: Central Statistical Office, Salisbury. Private communication Ref. No. LS/3/01, 22/4/75.

Notes: see Table 3.8.

For the two categories employing the greatest number of persons: manufacturing and private domestic services, average earnings differ by 265 dollars in 1973, compared to 87 dollars in 1961. Earnings in finance and transport have risen sharply and are particularly high today with 883 and 811 dollars average earnings respectively in 1973 (the latter is of particular relevance for our own empirical study).

This section would be incomplete without a fleeting glance at the opportunities afforded to Africans to bargain for advancement in income and conditions of employment. The Industrial Conciliation Act was passed in 1934 to protect the White wage structure and control access to employment opportunities. The term employee was defined to include only White workers. Africans thus were neatly excluded from the wage bargaining structure and from skilled trades because only 'employees' had the right to bargain collectively or to become apprentices (Bowman 1973:14-15). The emergence of effective Black trade unions during the 1950s forced Government to re-examine its policy on negotiations. The 1959 amendment forced all Rhodesian unions to organize vertically by industry. The provisions of this Act related to all workers, except those in agriculture, domestic service (who remained subject to the Master and Servants Act, cf. Clarke 1974a), public service and Rhodesia Railway employees. This was done to foreclose the possibility that unskilled workers (in other words, Africans) would combine into a single national organization. Rhodesian unions were thus multiracial, but branches were segregated and voting rights allocated on the basis of skill (Bowman 1973:38-39). (Cf. Kuper's 1967:140-141) structural patterning in the economic sphere in plural societies with emphasis on stratification and segregation outlined above). The Industrial Conciliation Act has since been amended from time to time and was substantially revised in 1971. The 1971 amendment had the major effect of removing the right to strike when this would prejudice the public interest (Harris 1974:54-59).

2. Tenure.

In the rural areas, land, although held on a communal basis, has always been a highly cherished good among Africans; in the urban areas, the type of tenure afforded Africans is of crucial importance for their stabilization and integration. Not until the last ten to fifteen years has there been anything in public policy but manifest reluctance to accept or facilitate permanent African settlement in town (Gargett 1971:17). The Land Apportionment Act of 1930 contained no guidance for the urban areas, but merely confirmed the responsibility of municipalities. With the passage of the Natives (Urban Areas) Accommodation and Registration Act in 1946 municipalities acquired the power and financial facilities to shoulder the burden of providing for their urban workers. The Act laid down that any employer of African labour is responsible for the legal housing of employees in terms of the Act. There was however a tendency to consider the urban African as a mere guest in town, tolerated only as a worker and not as an urban dweller, let alone citizen (cf. van Velsen 1963). Thus it is noted that "the existing

African Townships in Salisbury were established to house the African labour force, required to serve the demand of all sectors of the city's economy" (Corporate Development Group 1974:8-1). The first report of the Select Committee on Resettlement of Natives, which was published on 13th October 1959, revised this attitude somewhat by stating that the main function of urban development would not merely be to provide houses for workers in industry, but to provide homes for Africans who are living in urban areas. Its main feature was to recognise that Africans should be able to acquire freehold property in urban areas (DAA 1960:2, 45), albeit on residential plots outside the municipal boundaries. The principle of freehold tenure being permitted in African townships situated outside the boundaries of local authorities was further extended by the Government, in that this type of tenure might be provided within a local authority area upon application by the authority concerned, and the Land Apportionment Act was subsequently amended. Thus the legal impediment of an African being able to own the building but not the land was removed (DAA 1962:2). The Land Apportionment Act was replaced by the Land Tenure Act of 1969, which divided the country into two - in area equal - but in relation to population - unequal, racially exclusive parts, the basic feature being that African interests are paramount in the African rural areas: the Tribal Trust Lands (TTLs, former Native Reserves) and the African Purchase Areas (APLs), the European interests paramount in the urban areas. The Land Tenure Act also provided for the creation of African townships in European Areas.⁷⁾ This division of interest may have been justified by the introduction of urban areas by Europeans and their rapid urbanization (McEwan 1963b:430). It is also stressed that originally the division of land was introduced to protect African access to a societal good, which was appreciated by them early in Rhodesian history. The emphasis then lay on arable *rural* land, so that this division may have been attractive to both groups at the time of the original division.⁸⁾

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- 7) The latest Government policy in terms of the Land Tenure Act is that no further European land is to be developed for African townships, and that all future development must be in Tribal Trust Lands, providing these are within a reasonable distance of the place of employment. Furthermore, African home ownership in urban areas is to be encouraged, provided it is of good quality and not in areas subject to redevelopment (cf. Address by the Minister of Local Government and Housing at Inyanga 13/5/1974).
- 8) In connection with the distribution of scarce resources, Mitchell notes that some areas of overlapping interests in plural societies in Africa are land, occupation and education. The shift in the focus of conflict from the direct command over resources such as land, labour, or cattle, which was apparent in the earliest days of colonialization to the more indirect command through positions in authority and control in the new commercial, industrial and administrative structure, had to wait until the Africans were able to appreciate the significance and relevance of these positions. With the sharing of a common value framework in which education and occupation status figure prominently the claim to more indirect means of power were also made (Mitchell 1970:333-334).

In the urban areas the spatial distribution of European and African residential areas was ordered only from European interests right from the outset of urbanization, meanwhile these interests have been declared paramount. - In Salisbury, as in all other Rhodesian cities, the pattern that emerged is a clear example of Southall's B type town (see Chapter 2). A distinct division between races was called for in order to preserve the European character of the city, which it will be remembered was a white import. Furthermore several other differences made separation feasible for economic, health and security reasons, for instance the vast difference in living and hygienic standards between urban Europeans and Africans in the past.

Figure 7 and the inserted short introduction (Table 3.10) to Salisbury's African Townships and their development gives an overview of the African residential situation in 1974. The two Townships *Mufakose* and *Kambuzuma* as well as the Single Men's *Hostels* in *Harare* were selected for survey purposes in this study and will therefore be referred to frequently in this chapter. - The boundaries of the Salisbury Municipality were extended on the 1st July 1971 and now embrace a European area of approximately 195 square miles or 505 square kilometres. At the same time Government handed over six townships which it had previously administered. Until this date Salisbury's African Administration Department was administering three Townships: Harare (or Harari), Mabvuku and Mufakose, and Single Men's Hostels. In 1974 there are 42 741 municipal housing units and a further 3 134 other housing units which are legally occupied by a total of 294 176 in municipal, and a further 101 930 in other housing, giving a total of 396 106 legally accommodated Africans in the Greater Salisbury Area (UAA 1974:26).

As shown in Figure 7 the majority of African Townships are situated close to industrial sites. In the early days of urban settlement, a larger proportion of Salisbury's workers were accommodated on the premises of their employers albeit in European residential areas. Today, the latter is considered an anomaly and the standardization of African Administration with the creation of Greater Salisbury in 1971 has resulted in a call for concentration of the African urban population. This could result in resettling all urban African workers to African residential areas in time, however the provision of sufficient housing is a prerequisite. On Figure 7 it will be noted that one Salisbury African Township situated adjacent to the European residential area, Dziwaresekwa, was intended to serve domestic servants working in the nearby residential areas. The location of single men's hostels, housing largely migrant workers, is in Harare, which is within walking distance of many industrial sites. Indeed, the transportation of urban workers remains a constant stumbling block for any urban redevelopment scheme. More drastically, transportation limits large-scale resettlement schemes as envisaged more recently by Salisbury urban planners (Corporate Development Group 1974) in accordance with recent Government policy, which by and large propose to gradually shift yesterday's and today's African residential areas to the nearest African rural areas bordering Greater Salisbury.

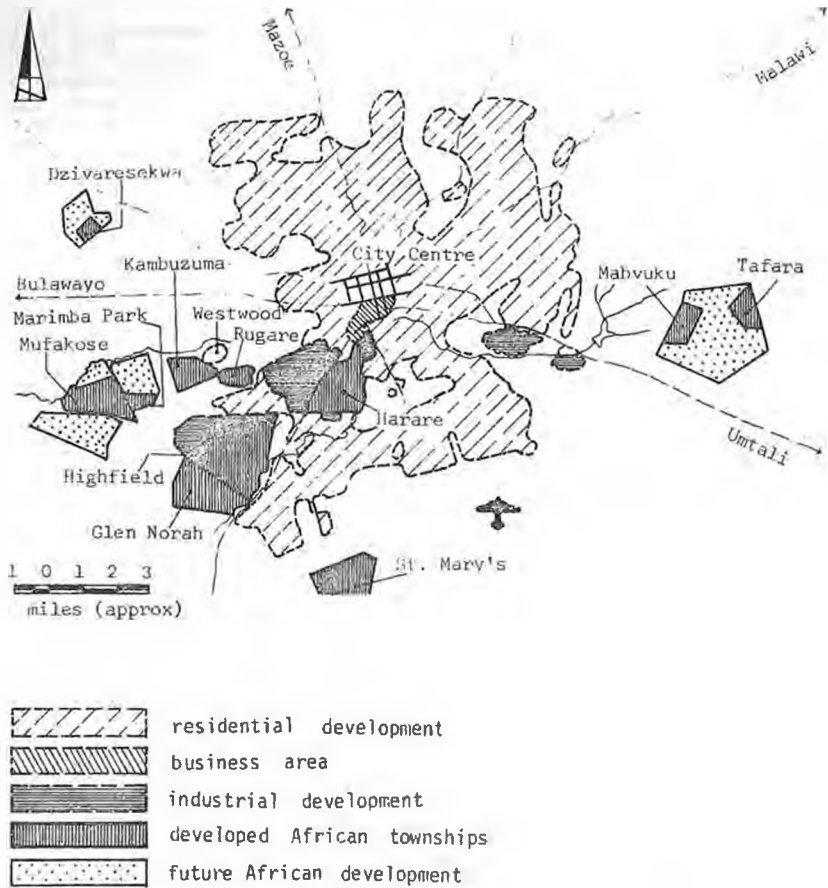


Figure 7 Map of Greater Salisbury

Table 3.10.

Descriptive introduction to Salisbury African Townships 1974

N Former Municipal Townships

G Former Government Townships

km Distance from city centre in km.

Dzivaresekwa Township: (G). 2 823 housing units. 13 km. Situated to the west of the city was established in 1961. With the exception of 28 houses built by tenants themselves, the remainder are leased to tenants on a monthly basis. A feature of this township is that it is designed to accommodate low-income groups, mainly domestic servants.

Glen Norah Township: (G). 6 444 housing units. 12 km. Adjacent to Highfield Township was originally developed by the Government between 1971 and 1973. Designed for lease on a 40-year basis to commerce and industry for their employees, only about one-third of the houses were taken up on this basis. The other two-thirds of accommodation were then leased to individual Africans. Although trading and recreational facilities have not kept pace with the housing development in Glen Norah, steps are being taken to close the gap.

Harare Township and Harare Hostels: (M). 5 497 housing units and 51 Hostels housing approximately 24 000 men living in single conditions. 5 km. The oldest of Salisbury Townships near to the original Salisbury Settlement gained official status in 1907 as an African Settlement. It has seen much growth, and demolition and redevelopment in its core area has been necessary in more recent years. The future of some parts of Harare as a Township is in some doubt. Thought is presently being given to redeveloping the valuable land for industrial purposes.

Highfield Township: (G). 7 424 housing units. 9 km. Established in 1934, primarily for the Government's African employees, is the biggest single Township being administered by the Salisbury City Council today. More than half of the units are held by Africans under various types of home-ownership agreements. Facilities, services and amenities are well developed in this township which adjoins a light and heavy industrial site.

Kambuzuma Township: (G). 2 467 housing units. 9 km. Was established on 2nd August 1963, as a self-help home-ownership scheme with the primary objective of making available basic housing units to Africans at a reasonable cost. It is unique in that it is exclusively a home-ownership Township. People buy the basic unit and are required to complete the house to approved specifications over a period of 10 years. The buyer, however, may take up to 30 years to pay for the land and improvements, obtaining freehold title once this is done. Land in Kambuzuma is fully utilized, making further development impossible.

Continued

Table 3.10. Continued

Habyuku Township: (M). 5 296 housing units. 17 km. Opened up in 1952, it is one of the older Municipal Townships serving the eastern section of the City. Only in the last year has the major development been brought to an end with most of the suitable land for residential purposes utilized.

Marimba Park: (G). 55 housing units. Is a high class area where the more affluent African has acquired 0,4 ha. or 0,8 ha. stands to which he is granted freehold title. The last 26 one-acre stands were only surveyed within the last year. Further serviced stands are planned, but these will probably be smaller than the present one-acre sites. Present development is of an extremely high standard with some houses costing upwards \$50 000 (By comparison it is reckoned that the average cost of an African housing unit including servicing is today approximately \$1 000 (Corporate Development Unit 1974:8-1)).

Mufakose Township: (M). 6 585 housing units. 14 km. Founded in 1960 this Township was envisaged as a model Township which provided a higher standard married accommodation clustered in neighbourhood groups on a rental basis. Due to financial and time pressure the later additions to the Township could only meet a lower standard of accommodation. Under the given circumstances the latest development taking place is of an optimum standard for large-scale housing.

St. Mary's Township: (G) 2 846 housing units. 17 km. Located to the south of the City originally came into being in 1956 when the Government built houses there for airport employees. But in 1962 about 2 000 homeless families made squatter homes on the banks of the Hunyani River near the existing Township. Perturbed by pollution and the unhygienic living conditions of the people in this encampment, the Government began to resettle this community on higher ground and on a properly planned basis. In a lengthy exercise completed in 1974 a total of 2 400 families were rehoused. St. Mary's is unique in that it has a Township Board rather than the usual Advisory Board. The Board's current responsibility covers the administration and management of two primary schools.

Tafara Township: 3 304 housing units. 18 km. In addition to other African Townships previously administered by Government, the City Council also assumed control over Tafara Township which was previously administered by the Greendale Town Council.

Westwood Non-racial Township: Is situated adjacent to Kambuzuma and the land there is owned by the Government. The City Council's responsibility lies solely in the provision of services and the implementation of the City's by-laws. Development at Westwood is generally of a high standard, but land for further housing development is now short in supply.

Continued

Table 3.10. Continued

Rugare Township: (Rhodesia Railways). 1 255 housing units. 7 km. Administered by the Rhodesian Railways for its employees.

Source: DAA 1974 : Appendix 'B', p.26 for housing unit statistics. Annual Report of the Director of African Administration for the year ended 30th June 1974, City of Salisbury.
 The *Rhodesia Herald* African Homes Supplement, 20/11/1974, Article by the Director of African Administration, p.2.
 LGH 1971: Annual Report of the Secretary for Local Government and Housing for the year ended 31st December 1971, Rhodesia. Distances taken from Cubitt, Riddell 1974:18, Table 2: 'Salisbury African Population, Distribution and Location, June 1973' (Source cited as African Administration, Municipality of Salisbury, Dec. 1973).

At the time of the survey one Salisbury African Township, St. Mary's, is situated reasonably close to Seke TTL in the south, and feasibility plans for a 'twin city' of Seke is well under way (the 'New Seke Township' in the Seke Reserve figured in a 1956 DAA report with 27 housing units). This last African Township is not intended to function merely on a suburban basis, but as part of the recent decentralization policy, it is envisaged as an industrial centre in its own right. This new idea of housing urban African workers in bordering African areas is closely akin to steps already undertaken in South Africa (cf. Maasdorp, Humphreys 1975:135 ff.).⁹⁾

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- 9) Commenting on race relations in Rhodesia, Bowman concludes that "the Land Tenure Act embraces many provisions which could be used to make Rhodesia a country with full apartheid ... the LTA has provisions which will enable the minister in charge of the act to exercise almost total control over the movement of all Rhodesian citizens through enactment of the comprehensive permit system to regulate how persons of one race occupy land reserved for the other race. This in effect makes all African urban workers (and even African university students) mere holders of permits which can be withdrawn at the minister's discretion ... There is one significant aspect of Rhodesia's ordering of race relations that should be emphasized, namely that Rhodesia has managed to perfect its system of segregation and control without adopting the ideological baggage that accompanies the apartheid system in South Africa ... One must remember, however, that there has been a traditional animosity between Afrikaners and English-speaking Europeans in southern Africa for generations. This enmity has inhibited the English-speaking whites from adopting apartheid, although in practice their approach to race relations is often almost indistinguishable from that of Afrikaners ... Since UDI Rhodesia has been edging toward more formalized separation of the races in some areas, but for the most part it has retained a pragmatic approach" (1973:143, 153-4).

The dominance of transport aspects in the lives of urban workers has economic as well as quality of life aspects (cf. Mutsvangura 1972; Magusha-Charambeni 1972). We shall later see that access to the place of work in fact overrides comfort features of accommodation, especially in the case of low incomes. As in many urban areas the world over, intra-urban transport is a constant source of frustration and discontent among urban workers.¹⁰⁾ To aggravate this situation, the efficient running of the public transport service is increasingly handicapped by the continued economic isolation of Rhodesia in more recent years. In order to minimize the effect of inequality in travel distance, fares are heavily subsidized and relative differences in fares largely reduced for residents of the various townships.

In town we might distinguish between three types of tenure for urban Africans: *short-term lease*, *long-term lease* and *freehold tenure*. Historically speaking the gradation advances from the former to the latter with the gradual acceptance of the stabilization of urban Africans.¹¹⁾ However, there are indications that the historical progression stops short in the last decade at the end of what might be referred to as the 'liberal' era outlined above, and reversion to long-term lease is more pronounced. For instance, long-term lease decreased from the 99-year lease afforded in the New Highfield scheme of the mid-fifties to 40-year lease in Glen Norah (see Table 3.10), the latter representing the minimal period of lease feasible for attracting building loans from non-governmental sources. In accordance with the Land Tenure Act of 1969, freehold and home-ownership schemes tend to be pushed out of bounds of Greater Salisbury (the existing and planned Seke Township, and St. Mary's Township are a case in point).

From the African viewpoint, although valuing urban security as an instrumental status for other coveted goods of a more economic nature (which can be transferred to social mobility in the rural social structure), interest in urban security via land tenure and home ownership has been a more recent development.¹²⁾ Very often the lack of

- 10) One local company has had the monopoly in providing Salisbury with public transport for approximately the past two decades. It is therefore little wonder that buses are regarded as symbols of the local authority and have frequently been targets for rioting activity during periods of political unrest.
- 11) Heisler (1974:140) writing on pre- and post-independence Zambia uses a typology of progressive urban systems reflecting changing stabilization policy: Labour Camps, Towns for Africans, African Towns.
- 12) Heisler (1974:19) remarks that from the African viewpoint there were three sound reasons why a Zambian labourer should ultimately return to his village during the pre-independence 'Towns for Africans' phase. Firstly, it was practically impossible for an African to own land or property in town. What home-ownership schemes were operating after 1950 appealed to a mere 78 owner-occupiers by 1964. Secondly, a man could reclaim land for himself upon return to his village at retirement. Thirdly, by means of capital earned in town and goodwill accumulated by judicious generosity on periodic return visits, a man could re-enter into the stream of village life and thus secure welfare in his old age.

comprehension of individual land tenure on the part of the African coming from a system of communal land tenure in the rural areas has been offered as an explanation for disinterest in urban freehold tenure. It would however appear that a lack of economic means and above all, distrust of White policy and its stability have created barriers to any rapid positive response in this area. (This is particularly the case in Mufakose where the introduction of a home-ownership scheme was completely unsuccessful during the turbulent mid-sixties. The one home-ownership house is an isolated experiment, see Table 3.11). This has partially been due to successive changes in office in the Ministries dealing with urban African affairs. The long history of constant dissensus on urban policy between local authorities and Government¹³⁾ may have effectively increased

- 13) With the danger of over-generalization of emphases, one might say that Salisbury City Council's policy has been coined as one of paternalistic administration of African affairs. This type of administration features a more strict centralistic control of all Townships in its jurisdiction. The renting of accommodation ensures proper maintenance and renewal in order to achieve a high standard of social housing. Urban infrastructure, facilities and amenities are provided according to available funds in accordance with a priority structure. By contrast Government has promoted a more grass-root approach to urban development. The provision of housing is more closely linked to popular co-operation and demand. Self-help schemes and site-and-service schemes in housing, which involve both a financial and building contribution on the part of occupiers, are essentially an expression of this policy. It has led to a more gradual increase of higher standard accommodation and a slower and less even provision of infrastructure, facilities and amenities in former Government Townships. Township officers are given greater leeway in their local administration. The Government approach to African affairs is possibly best formulated on the national level in its Community Development policy. The acceptance of a permanent urban African population has led to the promotion of home-ownership schemes and freehold tenure in Government Townships.

The impact of these diverse policies is seen in the various Salisbury African Townships. For instance trading in Salisbury Townships is carried out by African entrepreneurs from premises held on a freehold basis, or on long-lease or monthly tenure. Freehold title is held in some former Government Townships by both retailers operating super-markets and small businessmen running service industries. In the former Municipal Townships all business stands are leased, some on a month to month basis, others on leases of up to 99 years (DAA 1974:8).

It is difficult to assess the impact of these policy differences on Salisbury urban Africans. We can however state that before the handover of Government Townships to local authorities in July 1971 there were roughly equal proportions of Africans under the differential administration of Government and Municipality as shown in the following figures.

Africans accommodated in former Salisbury

<u>Year</u>	<u>Municipal Townships</u>	<u>Government Townships</u>
1965	76 600	85 000
1966	91 894	86 300
1967	96 524	91 000
1970	101 111*	104 004

Source: Compilation from successive Ministry of Local Government and Housing annual reports. *Excluding Municipal Licensed Premises included in original to afford better comparability.

the obscurity surrounding the urban status of Africans and dissuaded many urban workers from claiming a definite stake in town. It would seem that a cautious wait-and-see attitude coupled with vague images of radical political change involving a concomitant change in urban status tend to dampen Africans' enthusiasm for acquiring urban freehold tenure and participation in home-ownership schemes.

The type of lease available in Salisbury Townships' married accommodation is set forth in Table 3.11. It will be seen that rented accommodation is most freely available (71%), and freehold tenure least easy to come by (approx. 10%), especially nearer the city centre. As mentioned above, it has been recognised that freehold property may interfere with regional planning projections, and there is a tendency to grant freehold outside the Greater Salisbury boundary. At present little interference can be expected, for only approximately 1,5 per cent of Salisbury occupiers have actually availed themselves of freehold property. Kambuzuma is a good example: Although the situation may develop in time as the Township has only been established for a little over ten years, approximately 154 occupiers of 2 360 housing units, or 6,5 per cent had applied or been granted title to Kambuzuma property as of April 1974 (private communication with Township Manager).

Township	c o n d i t i o n o f o c c u p a t i o n					Total
	Leasehold 30 - 99 years	Agreements leading to freehold title	Freehold	Self- builders monthly tenure	Monthly lease- hold	
Dzivaresekwa	-	27	1	-	2 795	2 823
Glen Norah	2 304	-	-	-	4 140	6 444
Harare	-	77	28	-	5 392	5 497
Highfield	3 230	1 357	330	-	2 507	7 424
Kambuzuma	-	2 220	140	-	107	2 467
Mabvuku	-	-	-	-	5 296	5 296
Marimba Park	-	8	47	-	-	55
Mufakose	-	-	1	-	6 584	6 585
St. Mary's	-	-	107	2 437	302	2 846
Tafara	-	-	-	-	3 304	3 304
Total	5 534 13,0%	3 689 8,6%	654 1,5%	2 437 5,7%	30 427 71,2%	42 741 100,0%

Source: DAA 1974:5, Table 3, percentages added.

3. Accommodation.

Very closely related to tenure is the aspect of urban accommodation. Whereas tenure limits African urban stabilization in the long run, accommodation is used as a measure to curb rural-urban influx at the outset, especially after the repeal of the Pass Laws in 1960, requiring Africans only to carry a registration or identification certificate (DAA 1962:2). In accordance with the Vagrancy Act only Africans with access to a job and legal accommodation have a right to be present in municipal areas for longer periods of time. Legal occupiers of Salisbury Township accommodation are required to register their visitors and the period of stay is usually limited to two weeks in the first instance. This requirement is enforced by means of surveillance visits or 'night raids' as they are commonly called by residents. Nevertheless illegal occupancy has always presented a problem in the urban areas partially due to housing shortage. In 1968, for instance, it was estimated that some 3 600 persons were living illegally in the Salisbury area (DAA 1968:56).

The history of African urban accommodation has been beset with thorns. If the right to stay in town has been related to proof of legal accommodation on the part of the African worker, the onus for the provision of accommodation was placed on the shoulder of the employer, although this was not always clearly realised. The Native Administration was established in Salisbury in 1946 to "undertake the full and complete responsibility for the administration of the Native Urban Areas" (DAA 1967:1). At that time only Harare Township existed with a total population of 8 756 persons, although a subsequent survey indicated that additional accommodation for 21 000 workers was required of whom 30 per cent were party to a registered marriage (DAA 1967: 2,3). The number of accommodated Africans in the Salisbury urban area has continued to rise steadily as can be seen in Table 3.12, nevertheless the accommodation provided could not keep up with the demand.

The backlog in African housing has continued to be a national as well as a local problem, so much so that in 1974 it was considered the nation's second most urgent issue and 1974 was declared the African Housing Year. An indication of the housing backlog for the Salisbury area over the years is given in Table 3.13 below. Although it is generally recognised that the shortage in African housing is most acute in the Salisbury area, estimates of the number of housing units actually needed vary considerably. The Corporate Development Group (1974:8-1), for instance, gives an estimate of a backlog of 30 800 units in the Salisbury area, which is considerably higher than the number of applicants for housing cited in the Director of African Administration's latest annual report (see Table 3.13).

Whereas in the early days the local authority was called upon mainly to provide single housing, the demand for married housing increased with the trend toward stabilization, which we have seen is symptomatic after the boom years in industry in many parts of Africa.

Table 3.12.

African population accommodated in Salisbury Urban Area

Year	Population in known accommodation			Number families housed in family units		
	within Municipality	in Salisbury area	in Greater Salisbury area	in Municipal area	in Salisbury area	in Greater Salisbury area
1955	48 526	95 292	-	...	...	-
1956	55 276	98 491	-	...	...	-
1957	55 027	113 716	-	...	...	-
1958	...	...	-	...	...	-
1959	57 686	117 598	-	...	...	-
1960	88 762	128 760	-	...	...	-
1961	...	...	-	...	...	-
1962a	72 300	97 172	-	...	...	-
1963	72 321	172 983	-	7 441	16 679	-
1964	79 094	189 670	-	7 832	17 057	-
1965	80 972	212 069	-	8 822	25 927	-
1966	84 962	205 226	-	9 554	23 192	-
1967	94 713	223 786	-	11 096	26 031	-
1968	95 617	236 046	-	11 186	33 133	-
1969	...	...	-	...	...	-
1970a	103 317	237 886	261 146	12 796	28 102	31 932
1971	107 356	248 857	277 961	13 491	33 382	38 953
...						
1974			396 106			45 875

Source: Compilation from successive DAA reports.

a: Change in statistical recording after these dates.

...: Figures not available.

In the late fifties grave concern was expressed over the low proportion of married workers living with their families in accommodation provided by the Municipality. The proportions cited in Table 3.14 below are all below one-fifth of the City's labour force. The Urban Affairs Commission had meanwhile given an estimate of 40 to 50 per cent of Greater Salisbury's African population constituting family groups and it was feared that many family units were living in unauthorised accommodation (DAA 1959:6).

Table 3.15 shows that provision of single quarters dominated over married quarters until the 1960s, reflecting policy change over the years.

Table 3.13.

Shortfall of African housing in Salisbury Municipality Jurisdiction

As at 30th June	Families on Municipal Waiting List	Percentage Rhodesian families	Average number declared children per family ^b	
			Housed families	Waiting list families
1950	...	...	...	2,7
1951	...	...	...	2,8
1952	...	...	...	3,05
...
1955	3 752	63,11	...	2,85
1956	2 536	68,37	...	3,57
1957	2 081	...	...	3,22
1958	2 193	...	...	...
1959	2 573	74,70	...	3,52
1960	2 880	...	...	3,72
1961	3 410	...	...	...
1962	3 824	76,52	...	...
1963	4 703	...	4,39	3,554
1964	5 564	...	4,51	3,303
1965	5 840	...	4,22	...
1966	6 423	74,3	4,02	3,341
1967	8 102	73,79	4,5	3,337
1968	8 366	73,72	4,3	3,354
1969	8 814	...	...	...
1970	9 940	72,9	3,81	3,253
1971	10 326	73,0	...	3,262
...
1974	20 698a	...	...	...

Source: Compiled from successive DAA reports.

a: It is expected that only 14 000 applicants will emerge after consolidation of waiting lists after the incorporation of former Government townships.

b: Addition of averages computed from source statistics to aid comparison.

...: Figures not available.

Table 3.14.

Working males with families in Salisbury's labour force : Proportion living in normal married circumstances in authorised accommodation

Year	Percentage of total labour force
1955	17,2
1956	16,5
1957	18,0
1958	17,3
1959	16,3

Source: Compiled from successive DAA reports.

Table 3.15.

Accommodation Statistics: Salisbury African Townships under Local Authority administration: provision of new accommodation

Year	Single	Married	Total	Proportion single to married
1950/51	1 310	698	2 008	1 : 0,53
1951/52	3 490	620	4 110	1 : 0,18
1952/53	1 220	1 026	2 246	1 : 0,84
1953/54	325	-	325	1 : 0,00
1954/55	3 855	238	4 093	1 : 0,06
1955/56	5 206	68	5 274	1 : 0,01
1956/57	526	100	626	1 : 0,19
1957/58	1 978	74	2 052	1 : 0,04
1958/59	1 736	10	1 746	1 : 0,06
1959/60	2 484	126	2 610	1 : 0,05
1960/61	620	957	1 577	1 : 0,65
1961/62	-	1 575	1 575	0,0 : 1
1962/63	-	1 973	1 973	0,0 : 1
1963/64a	-	643	643	0,0 : 1
1964/65	-	444	6	0,0 : 1
1965/66	-	1 601	1 504	0,0 : 1
1966/67	-	332	295	0,0 : 1
1967/68	-	147	52	0,0 : 1
1968/69	383	1 052	1 435	1 : 2,7
1969/70	-	1 129	1 129	0,0 : 1

Totals	22 466	12 813	35 279	1 : 0,57
(1974	28 094	42 741	total accommo- available in 1974	1 : 1,52)

a: After this date totals reflect conversions of single to married accommodation and demolishment of single accommodation.

Source: DAA 1970:50, Appendix 'C', proportions added. DAA 1974:4.

Whereas the provision of single accommodation in the Salisbury Municipal area has increased approximately four times between 1946 and 1967, the provision of married accommodation has increased fourteen times during the same period (see Table 3.16 below). Nevertheless, single accommodation has always predominated over married accommodation at any single point in time, and married accommodation has never accounted for significantly more than a quarter of housing units provided for Salisbury's labour force by the Municipality in the last decade.

Meanwhile the building of married accommodation has progressed tremendously. Today Salisbury claims to possess a reasonably average proportion of married to single units compared to other urban centres (see Table 3.17). Also, there is still some demand for single quarters, reflected in the fact that plans for new single accommodation have been conceived during the survey period (interestingly these will be convertible to married quarters) (DAA 1974:4).

Added to the cost of having to provide family accommodation over and above single accommodation, the Municipality found itself confronted with increasingly large families to accommodate despite the fact that urban families were generally tending to reduce in size (CSO 1970:4). In other words, men applied for married accommodation at the beginning of the expansion stage in the family cycle and the longer families remained on the waiting list, the larger they grew. It is evident from Table 3.13, that families actually housed were usually further advanced in the expansion phase of the family cycle than those on the waiting list. Initially, it was envisaged that Municipal accommodation provided should ideally make provisions for family expansion. Table 3.18 exhibits that the proportion of larger size family accommodation units planned for increased from 35 per cent to 57 per cent in the time span from 1957 to 1963. The provision of housing in various sizes catering for varying proportions of family sizes occurring in the urban population was realized in the Mufakose core area. However, with the introduction of large-scale housing projects in the second half of the sixties, this goodness-of-fit planning succumbed to minimal standard size housing. (Opponents of rented housing argue that this 'goodness-of-fit' is temporary in any case, subject to changes taking place in the population structure. The home-ownership scheme, which provides the possibility of expanding the home according to the family growth cycle, is regarded as a more flexible solution).

Standards in housing may generally be described in terms of design, building materials, finish, size etc. Operationalization of size by number of rooms has proved a convenient measure for comparative empirical purposes. The 1974 DAA annual report presents an overview of types of married accommodation including size and a further dimension: detachment, in Salisbury's African townships (see Table 3.19).

The majority of units (68%) are of the semi-detached type and three and four room units account for over half (64%) of Salisbury's married accommodation.

Table 3.16.

Accommodation Statistics : Annual total of units of accommodation provided in Salisbury Municipal Area

Year	Single	Married	Total	Percentage married
Start	7 480	888	8 368	11
1947	7 480	976	8 456	12
1948	8 851	2 365	11 216	21
1949	10 282	2 232	12 514	18
1950	12 657	2 496	15 153	17
1951	13 652	3 220	16 872	19
1952	14 974	3 895	18 869	21
1953	16 451	4 812	21 263	23
1954	17 315	4 758	22 073	22
1955	17 641	4 885	22 526	22
1956	27 170	4 957	32 127	15
1957	27 959	5 056	33 015	15
1958	28 210	5 114	33 324	15
1959	29 946	5 124	35 070	15
1960	32 556	5 250	37 806	14
1961	33 176	6 207	39 383	16
1962	33 176	7 782	40 958	19
1963	33 176	9 755	42 931	23
1964	32 176	10 398	43 574	27
1965	32 738	10 842	43 580	25
1966	32 641	12 443	45 084	28
1967	32 604	12 775	45 379	28

Source: DAA 1967:75, Appendix 'K', percentages added.

Table 3.17.

African housing in Municipal Areas of Rhodesia

Municipality	Single units	Married ^a units	Total units	Percentage married units
Salisbury	28 094	42 741	70 835	60
Bulawayo	7 950	26 499	34 449	77
Gwelo	4 053	5 907	9 960	59
Umtali	7 023	4 537	11 560	39
Fort Victoria	2 185	1 233	3 418	36
Que Que	3 065	2 316	5 381	43
Gatooma	2 518	2 749	5 267	52
Marandellas	748	1 604	2 352	68
Sinoia	465	1 193	1 658	72
Hartley	820	1 839	2 659	69

Source: DAA 1974:27, Appendix 'C' citing figures from Ministry of Local Government and Housing, totals and percentages added.

a: Heading 'Married units' reads 'Married' in original, columns 'Married units' and 'Single units' in reverse order in original.

Table 3.18.

Proportions of different sizes of houses required in development schemes for purposes of planning standards of accommodation

Accommodation required for	1957	1959	1960	1962	1963
Childless families and those with 1 child	15,00%	15,55%	15,60%	8,52%	8,00%
Families of 2 or 3 children	50,00%	38,86%	48,50%	35,23%	35,00%
Families of 4 or more children	35,00%	45,59%	35,90%	56,25%	57,00%
	<u>100,00%</u>	<u>100,00%</u>	<u>100,00%</u>	<u>100,00%</u>	<u>100,00%</u>

Source: Compiled from successive DAA reports.

Table 3.19.

Types of married units in Salisbury's African Townships

Number of Rooms ^a	Semi-detached	Detached	Terraced	Flats	Other	Total
One	236	-	351	-	-	587 1,4%
Two	6 898	152	160	504	-	7 714 18,0%
Three	9 039	471	1 049	13	-	10 572 24,7%
Four	10 866	5 604	539	44	-	17 053 39,9%
Five	1 584	550	-	-	-	2 134 5,0%
Six	88	1 839	-	-	-	1 927 4,5%
Over Six	-	2 597	-	-	157	2 754 6,4%
Total	28 711	11 213	2 099	561	157	42 741 99,9%
%	68,2%	26,2%	4,9%	1,3%	0,4%	101,0%

Source: DAA 1974:5, Table 2, percentages added.

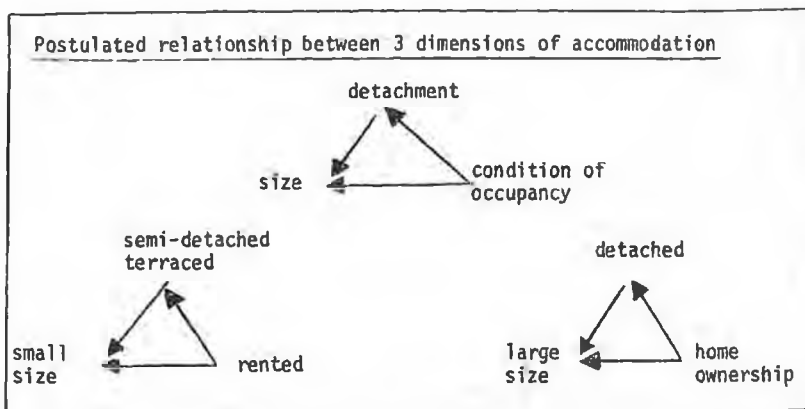
a: Not including kitchen

Flats account for less than 2 per cent of units. Flats have not been popular in the past and high-rise buildings were put up only on valuable land near the city centre or industrial sites, such as in Harare. The Harare Hostels and Harare Flats are a case in point. The incidence of family flats is partially historically determined (see Table 3.15) by the call for flexible single units which can be converted into married units according to fluctuations in demand (cf. also current plans for Mabvuku DAA 1974:4). Some experimentation with flats for special population groups (e.g. teachers, more affluent unattached) is of a more recent date (e.g. Glen Norah development, Charles Briggs Court, see below).

It is postulated that the indicators of housing standard: *size* and *detachment*, are inter-related in the Salisbury context. Detached housing units tend to be larger than other units. In Table 3.19 semi-detached and terraced houses have a mean 3,2 and 2,8 rooms respectively, whereas detached units have a minimum mean 5,0 rooms (calculated with 'over six' = 7 rooms). Also, it should be recognised that the kitchen, which is not included in Table 3.19, is often used for various non-cooking purposes and de facto creates additional living space or an extra room. Some low-cost housing of the semi-detached type (e.g. units found in Areas H and J in Mufakose) have only an exterior kitchen area. According to this argument, inclusion of kitchens in the tabulation on Table 3.19 would therefore only accentuate the postulated positive relationship between size and detachment.

In order to adequately interpret this two variable relationship, it is perhaps necessary to introduce a third variable, *condition of occupancy* (see Table 3.11). Semi-detached and terraced units are predominant in Municipal rented housing. Home-ownership schemes usually consist of detached units. The reason for the effect of condition of occupancy on size is associated to flexibility and cost as outlined above. Home-ownership scheme housing tends to increase in size in time, whereas rented housing tends to be fixed at the original size determined by the initial budget. Moreover, the fact that some home-ownership schemes include an extra room for lodgers supports the postulated association between size and condition of occupancy. Thus, it is proposed that size is associated with the condition of occupancy: rented or home ownership, through the intervening variable of degree of detachment of a dwelling (see diagram below).

The main obstacle to the provision of adequate accommodation has always been insufficient funds. In 1961 the Services Levy Fund was promulgated, its basic objective being to provide a means of subsidizing married accommodation, as well as transport.



In the latter half of the sixties a proportion of beer profits, which had formerly all been ploughed back into welfare services in the townships, were made available for housing.¹⁴⁾ However, the use of these monies was related to large-scale development and Government set a ceiling on the amount to be spent per housing unit (DAA 1966:2; 1968:8). (The newer areas of Mufakose, notably J and H were affected by this policy and the standard of the houses which were built in these areas was much lower than that in the core areas or initially planned for.)

One of the final aims in housing development was to put housing on an economic footing - both from the demand and the supply side. Clearly this could only be achieved with a substantial improvement in the wage structure of urban Africans, until such time had come, subsidizing was unavoidable. An outline of the history of rent structures in Salisbury clearly shows the emerging independence gained by Africans in their tenant status. Initially a 'pool rental' was charged for accommodation. Payments were received through the post from employers. This system was sound in that it protected the married workers' demands; employers were not tempted to discriminate against married employees whose rentals should be higher than those of single employees. The Director of African

14) After April 1965 grants of up to one-third of net profits made from African beer funds in any one year could be used for capital expenditure on low-cost African housing schemes, and for essential services for such schemes (DAA 1965:4). According to a 1974 press statement (13th May, Inyanga Address) the Minister of Local Government and Housing intends to increase this proportion to fifty per cent.

Administration noted that the hostels single accommodation was helping to subsidize married accommodation in 1962. Table 3.20 shows that only approximately 8 per cent of African tenants in the City Council's African residential areas were paying their own rentals in 1963 and that this percentage had increased by some 5 per cent within a three year period.

Table 3.20.

Sources from which rentals in respect of tenants in Salisbury City Council's African residential areas were collected in

Rents paid by	1959/60	1960/61	1961/62	1962/63
Municipal Depts.	4 368 12,4	4 446 12,9	3 478 11,4	2 990 10,3
European employers	29 593 84,2	28 131 81,5	24 744 81,2	23 701 81,5
Africans who pay their own rentals	1 117 3,3	1 939 5,6	2 224 7,3	2 381 8,2
100%	35 138	34 516	30 446	29 072

Source: Figures from DAA 1963:9, percentages added.

In Mufakose Township a new experiment had meanwhile commenced: Residents paid their own rentals directly to the Superintendent right from the Township's inception, and as this was considered 'special accommodation', rents closer to economic ones were charged than hitherto. After 1966 local authorities were generally permitted to charge rentals according to the type and standard of accommodation, along with a charge for services. A means test could be introduced to ensure that potential tenants were in a position to meet rent payments. These amendments provided the mechanism for abolishing the 'pool rental' concept. After a lengthy revision a Rent Rationalisation and Abatement Scheme was introduced in Salisbury African Townships in 1970 which made all tenants responsible for payment of their own rents. The scheme required that each tenant should have his rent assessed which is based on his monthly income. Provision was made for routine reviews of income so that rentals are raised in accordance with revised incomes, thus gradually reducing subsidy.

To conclude this discussion on accommodation, it is suggested that the type of housing provided for urban Africans has largely been dictated by the demand side, the pressure for accommodation, available funds and policy factors. It might be useful to discuss various trends in housing policy and development with the help of a housing typology. We shall distinguish between three dimensions of accommodation: single and family housing, lower and higher standard accommodation, and rented and home ownership accommodation.

Accommodation Typology:		
Dimensions:	A	B
occupancy	1 single	2 family
standard	3 low	4 high
lease basis	5 rented	6 home ownership

It is postulated that a shift in emphasis from accommodation type A to accommodation type B is consistent with a stabilization policy on the demand side and a growing urban commitment on the supply side. Sufficient economic growth in the urban centre which renders costlier housing feasible and/or the sufficiently high economic status of urban Africans who demand such housing and are prepared to assist in financing it, may be considered a marginal condition.¹⁵⁾ Historically seen there has been an overall trend for the emphasis to shift from A to B type accommodation in time. Irregularities in this trend are chiefly due to the economic recession after Rhodesia's Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI).

Tables 3.14, 3.15 and 3.16 illustrate this trend as regards increase in provision of family housing reflecting the policy of stabilization taking place in Salisbury as in other B type towns on the continent (cf. Heisler 1974 for comparable Copperbelt conditions). Family accommodation units were gradually provided for the stabilizing work force. - The endeavour to provide *better standards* of accommodation can best be demonstrated using descriptive material:

- In this connection mention should be made of an unprecedented and non-recurring event in high standard single accommodation in the Council's African housing. After 1966 47 bachelor flats were built at Charles Briggs Court in Harare. They were let to unattached men and women employed in the city at an economic rental of £3.2.6 (at that time a hostel space was going at a basic rental of £1.9.0). The flats soon became popular with "the more sophisticated unattached African" (DAA 1968:36) and today this superior type single accommodation still attracts more applicants than can be accommodated.

- As regards family accommodation, the survey Township Mufakose was originally planned as a model Township with housing of a fairly high standard grouped around neighbourhood centres. After the first building phase was completed, limitations of scarce funds and the long halt in

15) Due to acute housing shortage emphasis on home-ownership type accommodation has not necessarily been consistently associated with increasing economic status and/or urban commitment of Africans in the past, even in self-help self-builder and home-ownership schemes. This is especially the case when low monthly instalments and/or easy building specifications are involved.

building during the politically uncertain early sixties lead to an ever increasing housing shortage. This in turn resulted in the scrapping of plans of even higher standards of housing and large quantities of minimum standard houses were put up in accordance with Government policy in the latter half of the sixties. Since this period the persisting backlog in housing has only permitted this type of lower standard development on a large scale. It should however be noted that these more recent developments (e.g. Mufakose Area G South, Glen Norah), maintain relative high spatial standards, i.e. housing units figure as four room dwellings according to Table 3.19 (cf. Breakdown of this table by Township in DAA 1974: Appendix 'A': 21,24 for Glen Norah and Mufakose Townships respectively).

- Parallel to this development, the increase in economic status of some groups of Salisbury urban Africans has possibly been the major determinant of secondary B dimension emphasis: promotion of higher standard housing and/or home ownership on a limited scale. Especially important is the combination of a high standard requirement in home-ownership schemes (let alone freehold property), where the control of maintenance is largely removed from the local authority. The Salisbury City Council has always adhered to this principal of exclusivity in home-ownership schemes. - By contrast the City of Bulawayo has always given prominence to family housing (cf. Table 3.17) and home ownership in particular (Gargett 1971:22). Gargett reports a proportion of 13 500 rented to 8 603 home-ownership family units for Bulawayo in 1970 (1971:22b). In Salisbury the great increase in home-ownership housing in recent years occurred through the take-over of former Government townships especially Highfield and Kambuzuma with large-scale home-ownership schemes.

The more recent trend to cater for the emerging middle-class African, who has achieved a certain degree of urban sophistication, is reflected in an outstanding event in the 1974 Year of African Housing. An African Homes Exhibition was held in Salisbury showing varying standards in family dwellings intended for home ownership. These homes were designed and put up by private firms as well as the City Architect and the exhibit was opened to the general public whose reaction was duly registered. The optimization of standards for the less affluent and flexibility for increasing needs was particularly evident in the show homes.16)

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- 16) In 1957 the Director of Native Administration outlined a typology of Salisbury urban Africans, consisting of the 'Illiterate Migrants' who were "usually content to reside in quarters provided upon employer's premises or in hostels in Native Urban Areas" (DAA 1957:1), the 'Semi-Educated and Emergent', almost all of whom were "settled married men" occupying housing provided in the Townships (DAA 1957: 3) and the 'Cultured and Cultivated'. In the latter group the standard of the wife was considered decisive, for she influenced the home. Being small, this group had gone practically unrecognised (DAA 1957:4). - Meanwhile this last group has increased numerically and its needs have been recognised to a certain extent as evident in current housing development.

- Communication between the providers of housing and the current or potential occupants has also increased in more recent years, thus ensuring that housing standards meet actual demands. Contact with Salisbury residents to establish the potential housing needs of groups scheduled for resettlement (Appendix 'A' to DAA 1963) and marginal groups, such as outdoor sleepers and squatters (DAA 1974:12; Passmore 1974), may be mentioned in this connection. Recently public suggestions as regards house design have been collected and the particular G5 type house design being put up in Mufakose at the time of the survey is a partial product of this feedback (DAA 1974:13).

African accommodation emphasis in the Salisbury context:

Single accommodation

Family accommodation

Code Description

Code Description

135 *low standard/rented*
~~145~~ high standard/rented
~~136~~
~~148~~

235 *low standard/rented*
 236 low standard/home ownership
 245 high standard/rented
 246 high standard/home ownership

Ad single accommodation: Single accommodation is essentially of the Hostel type (135), which is job-tied, rents still being paid by employers. Units of single accommodation include 25 242 or 90 per cent of a total 28 094 units scattered throughout various Salisbury townships. Concentrations of over 1 000 units are found only in Highfield and Tafara (DAA 1974:4).¹⁷ Exceptions are one block of exclusive bachelor flats set up around 1967. Authorised lodger's accommodation in family housing (a measure taken to supplement the home owner's income and at the same time to ease the accommodation shortage) might be considered more exclusive single accommodation. At 30th June 1974 there was a total of 10 805 lodgers accommodated in family housing as against 24 042 Hostel dwellers (DAA 1974:26, Appendix 'B').

Ad family accommodation: The range of accommodation emphasis is less limited in family housing, but a clear-cut pattern for Salisbury emerges. The vast majority is still of the low standard rented type (see Table 3.11 above). Most of the home-ownership schemes set higher standards (see Table 3.19). In some home-ownership schemes the standard above a certain minimum is self imposed (e.g. Kambuzuma). Thus, the combination of emphases 246 (family/high standard/home ownership) possibly has the greatest potential for development as long as public funds are limited (see diagram on page 97). Some site-and-service schemes are of a low standard. Superior rented housing is still of a low standard when compared to the elitist suburbs (e.g. Marimba Park or Westwood).

17) The 1974 DAA report lists the "units of single accommodation, by township" as follows: Dzivaresekwa 80, Glen Norah 56, Harare (Flats) 43, Harare (Hostels) 25 242, Highfield 1 384, Kambuzuma 0, Mabvuku 83, Mufakose 103, St. Mary's 0, Tafara 1 103, Total 28 094, (DAA 1974:4, Table 1).

Most of the possible combinations of dimensional emphases in accommodation are encountered in the Salisbury context, although some are of very recent date and limited scale. We might postulate that the backlog in family housing, limited building funds and a policy of strict administrative control place the greatest emphasis on two particular combinations: namely on

Code 135 or single/low standard/rented accommodation and
Code 235 or family/low standard/rented accommodation

in the Salisbury area. The schedule above summarizes dimensional emphasis in Salisbury accommodation.

4. Consumption standard: power and water.

The provision of services and the increased demand for such services may be considered an indication of the development of urban standards of living. Historically speaking, electricity was as a rule installed after the provision of housing. For public security purposes it was considered essential and street lighting was one of the first electrical installations undertaken in townships welcomed by Administration and residents alike. Communal ablution and sanitation existed in Harare when the Native Administration Department was first established, but very soon these were supplied to housing units individually. In 1956 the Director of African Administration (DAA 1956:19) writes that the rate of electricity consumption by Africans in "Native" residential areas was causing "distinct anxiety". Electrical current for lighting purposes only was supplied free to all dwellings on a communal basis from six in the morning until ten at night and it had been practice to recoup the expenditure thus incurred through the medium of an element included in the rent structure. Prior to 1953 control switches were pushed after 11.00 p.m. each evening in Harare Township. After the lifting of control, consumption had risen tremendously. The increased financial burden of providing electricity in townships is shown by the figures taken for the Department's Estimates of Expenditure. Analogously water consumption was steadily rising as shown in the figures depicting the cost of water consumed to the Department of African Administration (cf. Table 3.21).

The demand for a higher electricity supply was checked successively throughout the years. From a survey conducted at the end of 1956 by the Superintendents of the Harare and Mabvuku Townships, it was ascertained that tenants were using privately owned electrical appliances as in Table 3.22.

In a 1958/59 survey of 100 Mabvuku homes, electrical appliances used included 36 cookers (12 with oven), 86 irons and 8 heaters, (DAA 1959:19).

Table 3.21.

Cost of electricity and water to the Department of African Administration, Salisbury (in pounds)

Year	Harare Township		Mabvuku Township	
	Electricity	Water	Electricity	Water
1949-1950	1 500	7 000	-	-
1950-1951	1 600	7 300	-	-
1951-1952	1 900	11 000	-	250
1952-1953	2 920	11 000	320	350
1953-1954	4 250	32 600	2 300	2 450
1954-1955	5 500	44 000	1 300	2 450
1955-1956	8 500	52 000	2 400	4 000
1956-1957	17 800	54 000	4 700	4 200

Source: DAA 1956:19, 21.

Table 3.22.

Use of electrical appliances in Municipal African Townships in 1956

Appliance	Harare	Mabvuku	Total
Compressor	1	-	1
Drilling machine	1	-	1
Heater	909	2	911
Iron	4 917	210	5 127
Kettles	-	32	32
Radios (mains) sets	3 364	168	3 532
Refrigerator	164	-	164
Stoves and cookers	1 701	83	1 784
	<u>11 057</u>	<u>495</u>	<u>11 552</u>

Source: DAA 1957:47.

In January 1959 load limiters were introduced in order to regulate electricity consumption. Load limiters were of two types, 1 ampere for residents requiring electricity for lighting purposes only, for which no charge was made (this holds today in Harare and Mabvuku (DAA 1970:6)), and 5 ampere for residents requiring electricity for cooking and heating purposes as well as for lighting (DAA 1963: 17-18). An interesting aspect of this exercise was that initially only 23 per cent of Mabvuku tenants concerned elected to pay the monthly fee of 10 shillings and to enjoy the increased use of electricity afforded by a 5 ampere load limiter. In succeeding stages of the scheme this proportion increased to 95 per cent.

During the year of 1958/59 electrical installations were completed and in progress in Harare Hostels and the first hostel in which hot water for showers and general washing purposes was provided was reported (DAA 1959:19). Today the lights in Harare Hostels switch off after 10.30 p.m.

New ground was broken with the conception of the Mufakose core area. All homes were supplied with 5 ampere load limiters from the start and some 50 homes were wired individually and a further 50 were prepared for individual wiring. In the second building phase involving large-scale housing development with a fixed cost ceiling per unit, electrification had to be sacrificed. No houses built after the second half of the sixties in Mufakose have electricity.

In self-builder home-ownership schemes such as Kambuzuma, electricity is supplied on individual demand and installation paid for by the home owner. The introduction of electricity is therefore more gradual and uneven.¹⁸⁾

By contrast, in some higher standard housing in Harare, where home ownership was introduced later by the Municipality, supplies were metered in 1958/59 and all tenants became consumers with the responsibility of paying the monthly electricity account in terms of normal tariffs.

In accordance with the trends described above, it is hypothesized that the demands for electricity are increasing, limited only by the economic means of urban Africans. It is further proposed that power supply is regarded as a concomitant of normal urban living and not as a luxury by Salisbury Africans. In a recent survey among Rhodesian Africans on the Municipal Housing Waiting List (Passmore 1974:3) the majority of respondents (53%), when informed of costs to them, wanted a 5 ampere power supply, a further 36 per cent preferred a 1 ampere supply, 6,8 per cent a full metered supply. Only 4,5 per cent did not want electricity. Electricity for cooking and lighting and heating purposes is often considered less expensive than alternative sources of energy available to urban Africans.

The cost of electricity and water has risen for the African consumer over the years. Power charges for a 5 ampere supply was 10 shillings per month before 1960, 15 shillings after April 1961, £1.0.0. after May 1963 and is now \$3.00 in 1970. Today a 3 000 gallons water allowance is generally made to tenants in all townships, this being included in the monthly rent, consumption in excess is charged (DAA 1963:18; 1970:6).

African access to electrical power supplies in Salisbury Townships is illustrated in Table 3.23.

18) An interesting feature of the 1974 African Homes Exhibition held in Salisbury was that many higher standard homes on view had no electricity installed initially, but were awaiting demands from potential buyers. Also some experimentation with solar heating systems was evident.

Although the compilation below may be somewhat elliptical, it does convey two factors. Firstly, few Africans have access to electricity and secondly the supply is at present greater in former Municipal Townships than in former Government Townships.

Table 3.23.

The availability of electricity in Salisbury Township houses

Harare	5 940 houses	1 362 with 1 amp. supply 3 968 with 5 amp. supply 610 NIL
Highfield		407 with 1 amp. supply 460 with 5 amp. supply 640 with 5 amp. supply
Kambuzuma	2 422 houses	174 meter can. 640 with 5 amp. supply 1 608 NIL
Glen Norah	4 123 houses	Not wired
Dzivaresekwa	2 575 houses	Not wired
St. Mary's	2 353 houses	Not wired
Mabvuku	1 266 houses	551 with 5 amp. supply 715 with 1 amp. supply
Mufakose	2 534 houses	2 484 with 5 amp. supply 50 fully metered

Source: Cubitt, Riddell 1974:29, Footnote 57, citing information supplied by the African Administration Department.

5. Civic status: local government participation of urban Africans.

This aspect of urban mobility potential is extremely intricate in the context area and will only be briefly outlined for the sake of completeness. (For a more adequate treatment see Passmore 1966, 1972; for the Bulawayo context: Ndubiwa 1972; Gargett 1971: Chapter 7). To summarize the situation, it may be noted that although Africans have played their part in national politics, albeit in a reactionary role, throughout the years of urban development, their integration in the civic structure on the local level is today still negligible in Salisbury. Just before the sixties the civic status of the urban African started a long drawn out debate between local authorities and Government which has not been adequately resolved to date and creates a position of uncertainty for the Africans concerned.

In Salisbury the liaison and channel of communication between African residents and the Municipal Council has been maintained by the Advisory Board system. Advisory Boards with a City Council member as

Chairman and a Vice-Chairman elected by Township residents were established in Municipality Townships with a purely advisory status. (Cf. Kuper's patterns of structural discontinuity above. Kuper gives Advisory Boards as a clear-cut example of an intercalary structure in plural society's political sphere.). The Harare Advisory Board was founded in 1947 with 8 members and continued to convene meetings throughout the turbulent years before and after the Unilateral Declaration of Independence. It was at this time that the Director of African Administration in fact termed the Advisory Board system as outmoded because of the lack of responsibility conferred upon urban Africans (DAA 1963:62). The Mabhuku Advisory Board, established in 1954, comprising 4 members ceased to operate in 1962 and was resuscitated in the 1966/67 period. In Mufakose the first attempts to form an Advisory Board were abortive due to the political uncertainty of the time; it was only properly established after 1972.

It might be correct to say that the status of Advisory Board members is controversial for they are regarded as community leaders by some and as sell-outs to the local authority or Government by others. The restricted Advisory Board approach to local African representation is consistent with the concept of the city as an organic entity and hence as a single local government unit.

Government's attitude to the participation of urban Africans in local government is possibly most adequately formulated in terms of its Community Development policy. When first adopted in 1959 this policy remained unclear for several years. In 1965 the purpose of Community Development was defined as the organization and development of responsible, self-reliant and coherent communities within a comprehensive multi-purpose framework of local government (Gargett 1971:157). A more recent outline of the concept is given by the Minister of Local Government and Housing:

"Community development is a technique, .. the use of which is to see if the African can play a fuller part in the life of his community and of our country ..." It may be summed up, in so far as central Government's role is concerned, as an active, planned and organized effort to place responsibility for decision-making in local affairs on the freely chosen representatives of responsible people at the community and local government levels, and to assist people to acquire the attitudes, knowledge, skills and resources required to solve, through communal self-help and organization, as wide a range of local problems as possible in their own order of priority." (The Minister of Local Government and Housing in his speech to the Local Government Association, quoting from paragraph seven of the White Paper, May 26, 1975).

The community development programme was extended to the African urban areas in time. Reactions to this programme from the African side were apprehensive, especially as it was closely associated with racial policy. In 1967 the training of urban community workers commenced. Part of their

task was to undertake community studies to ensure adequate representation of the community residents on a township local authority (cf. Vutabwarova 1969; Vutabwarova, Chimanihire 1969 for Kambuzuma Township). The progress achieved in implementing the local government policy was to depend on the people's active participation. Therefore each township was meant to develop at its own pace toward participation in local government.

In the Salisbury area, a direct outcome of Government's community development policy was the forming of the first Township Board in the country in St. Mary's Township in June 1971 with limited function and responsibilities, namely the management of the Township's primary schools. The Ministry of Local Government and Housing had emphasized earlier that although such and other functions might be delegated to a local urban African Board, the landlord function would remain in the hands of the local authorities for the foreseeable future. The form of local government had to be seen within the framework of the authority of an overall municipality.

St. Mary's Township Board fell under the aegis of the Salisbury City Council at the time of incorporation in July 1971. Its Constitution provided for the appointment of 4 nominated members, 2 from the Ministry of Local Government and Housing and 2 from the City of Salisbury, in addition to its 12 elected members. Recently a joint Government/Municipality study programme to determine the application of community development in the urban areas was engaged in. After pressure was applied by the Ministry for the almost immediate introduction of a Township Board in Kambuzuma, to which Council was opposed, the joint study group was abandoned.

Today the remaining seven African Townships (including Rugare), containing 56 per cent of the total African township population of Salisbury, have no form of representation (Corporate Development Group 1974:14-2).

6. Education.

It is a known fact that formal education is valued as an instrumental status by Africans today (cf. Barber 1967:85-89, Taylor 1970 for an overview).¹⁹⁾ For Africans, education is not compulsory, but is widely sought. Schooling is provided by Government, mission and other private organizations. With the exception of a few private schools, European and African education is separated (cf. Kuper's patterning of structural discontinuity with emphases on parallelism and segregation in the educational sphere outlined above). With the high expansion rate of African population it is found difficult to provide full educational facilities for all African children. During the 1960s the Rhodesian Government started spending large sums of money on African education. In 1947/48 only

19. Education along with income and property is one of the franchise qualifications.

\$803 268 or 3,1 per cent of the national budget, was spent on education for Africans. Ten years later (1957/58), the amount had risen to \$4 540 850, i.e. 12 per cent of the budget (Taylor 1970:10). The amount spent on African education has almost doubled in the ten years from 1964 to 1974. In 1973/74, \$23,7 million was spent on African education, this compares with \$12,1 million spent in 1964/65 (*Rhodesia Herald* 10/6/75). In 1959 there were 467 567 African children enrolled in schools, by 1964 there were 642 596 (Barber 1967:85), in 1973 the enrolment of all African children was 765 046 (*Rhodesia Herald* 24/1/74).

In 1964 the Government introduced school fees in all Government schools, whereas previously they had been charged only in mission schools. This set off a strong reaction from African parents and became a point of great political friction. - In Salisbury, the Government announcement of the introduction of school fees was exceedingly unpopular, even though concessions in the case of hardship were promised. As a result schools were boycotted throughout Government controlled and Municipal African township areas.

With limited funds priority was first set on providing primary education for the masses. Education of Africans had therefore been broad at the base and there were successive blockages until the narrow apex at the top was reached. In 1963 there were only 7 045 African children in secondary schools and, of these, only 36 were in the upper sixth form (Barber 1967:86). After the Unilateral Declaration of Independence the emphasis was to be somewhat changed with the introduction of what was called the 'New Plan'. The new Government had already initiated secondary expansion: in the first years following the new party's election victory 45 African secondary schools had been established, the number of Africans at secondary schools had almost doubled, and the number of sixth-formers almost trebled (Barber 1967:88).

In April 1966, the Minister of Education announced that in the New Plan for African education the primary school course was to be reduced from eight years to seven years. The implementation of this was to be effected by 1969, in which year a double output of primary school leavers would take place. Full primary education was to be provided to each child who could reach a school (DAA 1967:42ff.).

In the New Plan (cf. Taylor 1970:12ff.) it was envisaged that the senior secondary schools would provide the normal academic secondary education from Form I to Form IV plus, and where circumstances deemed to so justify, Form VI. These schools would now cater for 12½ per cent of the pupils emerging from Grade 7, who would be specially selected on merit. The junior secondary schools would provide a two-year course of what might be described as vocational preparation. The curriculum would be composed of two-thirds academic education and one-third industrial or practical training related to the area where the school was situated. The entrants to these schools, who again would be selected on merit, would be the 37½ per cent coming from the primary schools after the top 12½ per cent had been selected for entrance to the senior secondary schools. There were no specific Government plans for setting up junior secondary schools,

but hopes were held that these would be established by voluntary organizations, industrial concerns or local authorities.

Owing to the financial limitation, the fact had to be faced that it would not be possible to provide post-primary schooling for the remaining 50 per cent of the pupils who had completed Grade 7 in the primary schools. Nevertheless, it was argued, they would all have acquired a basic education and would be acquainted with the three R's so that it would be possible for each one of them who had the drive and the ability to improve his knowledge by means of a normal correspondence course.

Although the New Plan could be criticized on the grounds that that it left half the rising population without post-primary education, Rhodesians were requested to reflect that it would be financial suicide for the country to design an educational system which outstripped the economy of the country. Moreover, it was recalled that under the system to date not more than 25 per cent of those pupils who completed the primary course moved on to a secondary school and, of these, not more than 32 per cent went above Form II (e.g. about 6,25 per cent of those who completed Standard 6) (Taylor 1970:12-13). However, at the same time, it was announced that expenditure on African education would not be allowed to exceed its present level of 2 per cent of the gross national income. The new policy therefore implied a shift in direction and not a dramatic expansion in the Government's African education expenditure.

In the urban areas, also in the Salisbury townships, children are eligible for a place in primary schools by virtue of their registration on administrative records. In 1956 The Director of African Administration reports that there was an unsatisfied demand for more classroom accommodation (DAA 1956:37). In 1957 he writes that the plans for the establishment of a Junior High School in Harare were hailed with approval. In the two Municipal Townships existing at that time school enrolment in Government and privately run schools had increased by 1 072, the increase being due to new accommodation becoming available (DAA 1957:71). In 1963 the enrolment of children for schools in the area under the City Council's jurisdiction and at Highfield showed an increase of 2 120 over the previous year (DAA 1963:27). School enrolment statistics in Greater Salisbury are further given with 9 441 (Municipal Townships and Highfield) in 1954, 11 740 (Municipal Townships and Highfield) in 1965, 14 189 and 14 190 (Municipal Townships) and 14 581 and 14 271 (Government Townships) in 1967, 1968 respectively. In 1974 the educational needs of Township children are well catered for at the primary level with 40 schools for some 34 500 pupils. This is less evident on the secondary level where there are some 11 schools with 4 137 pupils. The Director of African Administration reports that the African Advisory Boards would like to see the establishment of F.2 (junior secondary) schools in the Townships. Notwithstanding its general policy (see above) it is understood that Government plans to build an F.2 (junior secondary) school in Mufakose in 1977/78 (DAA 1974:7).

In the sphere of education the initiative of residents has been felt most intensely in the past and residents have frequently made

representations for privately sponsored so-called community schools to fill the gaps left by the provision of Government schools, especially on the post-primary level. Requests for community schools have been deterred by the increased provision of Government schools. A case in point is Mufakose where a secondary school was opened in May 1970 some ten years after the inception of the Township. For many years the Mufakose Superintendent in successive annual reports had stressed the urgent need for a secondary school which would halt potential community action in the educational sphere. - It is possibly also symptomatic that the chief current function of the St. Mary's Township Board is in the field of education.

To date, the resentment to the further entrenchment of separate parallel educational institutions since the realization of the New Plan, continues to exist. Nevertheless, parents make great sacrifices to find school fees in the hopes of improving their children's life chances and indirectly their own in old age.

Although it is difficult to assess if development in the provision of educational facilities in the Salisbury area has kept pace with the growth of the school-age population over the years, we shall try to give some indication of the absolute development in educational facilities.

Table 3.24.

Number of schools and pupils by Salisbury Township

Township	No. housing units	Primary Schools		Secondary Schools	
		Schools	Pupils	Schools	Pupils
Dzivaresekwa	2 823	2	1 865	-	-
Glen Norah	6 444	2	1 936	2	764
Harare	5 497	7	5 858	4	867
Highfield	7 424	12	8 487	3	2 039
Kambuzuma	2 467	3	2 535	-	-
Mabvuku	5 296	3	2 779	1	133
Mufakose	6 585	6	6 352	1	334
St. Mary's	2 846	2	2 257	-	-
Tafara	3 304	3	2 487	-	-
	42 686	40	34 556	11	4 137

Source: DAA 1974:7, Table 4, addition of column "No. housing units" from DAA 1974:26, Appendix 'B'.

Table 3.24 demonstrates that school facilities do bear some relation to family housing development, though there is a tendency for the oldest townships to be most highly developed as regards educational facilities both at the primary and secondary level (e.g. Harare and

Highfield). As a result of this, secondary schools are more concentrated nearer the city centre. Also, it will be noted that none of the Townships with less than 4 000 housing units have secondary school facilities and one of the survey Townships, Kambuzuma, falls into this category.

Drawing on the historical input in the study context, we have tried in the above sections to provide evidence that the mobility potential on several status lines has increased for urban Africans in the past, so that the assumption of mobility differentials for empirical purposes is justified. In the last section of this chapter we shall look at the effect of foreign labour on mobility potential cross-cutting several status lines.

Foreign status.

An important aspect of Rhodesian urbanization is the stabilization differential between alien and indigenous Africans (for an appraisal from the economic viewpoint, cf. Clarke 1974b). Historically seen, there are two distinct trends. Firstly, alien Africans travelling great distances to centres, tended to contribute to a greater extent to the urban labour force than Rhodesians. This would be consistent with migration theory as outlined in the second chapter (compare Ravenstein's 'laws of migration' as reviewed by Lee 1969). According to Bowman, wages offered in the first part of the century were generally so low and conditions so deplorable that Rhodesian Africans only reluctantly joined the wage economy. The common pattern was for an African male to migrate to a job for a few months and then to return to his rural home. Because this pattern did not satisfy White demands for a stable labour force, a system of labour migration to Rhodesia from outside was soon established. Whites favoured workers from Portuguese East Africa (Mocambique) and Nyasaland (Malawi) because they stayed longer and accepted lower wages than indigenous Africans. Foreign labour has seldom totalled less than half the number of Africans in wage employment in Rhodesia (Bowman 1973:14).

Parallel to the stabilization of foreign labour already in the country, there is a more recent decline in the foreign migrant population. Whereas 47,41 per cent Rhodesian Hostel dwellers were recorded in 1956 (DAA 1956:11), in 1971 63,62 per cent of Hostel dwellers (excluding Municipal employees) were of Rhodesian origin (DAA 1971:29); in early 1975 approximately 91 per cent of Hostel dwellers are Rhodesians (private communication with Hostels Superintendent).

As regards the relatively slow stabilization process of the Rhodesian labour force, figures on Tables 3.5 and 3.6 depicting the City's labour turnover in the 1950-56 period reflect that a larger proportion of Rhodesian than foreign workers tended to be employed by more than one employer before leaving the City and that Rhodesians spent shorter working periods in town. The trend toward gradual stabilization of Rhodesian workers is further reflected by the proportion of Rhodesian families on Salisbury Municipality's Waiting List for housing. The Rhodesian proportion

of applicants increased by ten per cent from 63 to 73 per cent during the 1955-1971 period (see Table 3.13). In a sample drawn from the Housing Waiting List in 1974 (Passmore 1974:2), a similar proportion of Rhodesian applicants (71%) was reported, although difficulty in tracing target persons might have biased this result.

The reduction in foreign labour is most probably influenced by policy regulations on the immigration of foreign Africans introduced to protect indigenous labour during recession periods. (It will be noted that the assessment of alien status varied somewhat according to Rhodesia's alliance structure throughout the years.).²⁰⁾

Table 3.25.

Migration of labour in the City of Salisbury (males)

Year	Passes to seek work issued			Percentage of work seekers gaining employment	
	Total	S. Rhodesian	%	Total	S. Rhodesian
1955	102 122	30 041	29,4	...	...
1956	112 617	34 666	30,8	...	...
1957	105 875	36 301	34,3	73,1	77,2
1958	111 016	39 521	35,6	...	...
1959	96 031	40 144	41,8	66,3	71,2
1960	82 333	42 524	51,6	63,7	63,1

Source: Compiled from successive DAA reports, Rhodesian work pass percentages added.

...: Figures not available.

Commenting on the 1959 statistics in Table 3.25 the Director of African Administration remarks that the number of passes to seek work that year had dropped by 14 680 as compared with the previous year. This reduction had occurred mainly among Africans from Portuguese Territory, the drop in this category had taken place from March onwards. This would appear to indicate that the restrictions imposed by Government under the Foreign Migratory Labour Act of 1958 were effective (DAA 1959:69).

Kay (1972:13) writes that as the pressure from Rhodesian Africans on available job opportunities has increased, the number of alien Africans has decreased. Thus, for example the 1961 census of employees was the first to show Rhodesian born employees (52,8%) outnumbering those of

20) Some bias in observations on alien urban Africans may occur due to second generation immigrants becoming eligible for Rhodesian nationality and differential registration of foreign status on administration records. This caused considerable difficulty in the author's field experience.

foreign birth (47,2%). The 1962 census of Africans showed that there were 406 050 Africans in Rhodesia who were born in other countries, that is 11,3 per cent of the total population, 382 110 of them were in the European Rural and Urban Areas where they constituted 25,6 per cent of the African population. By 1969 the number of foreign born had fallen to 362 840 (7,5%) and Kay estimates that 332 000 of these were in the European controlled sectors of the money economy where they made up 18,5 per cent of all Africans.

The proportion of foreign born labour in the Salisbury urban area is given with 26,2 per cent in Table 3.26.

Table 3.26.

Country of origin of African employees - 1969 Census Salisbury Urban Area

Rhodesia	101 747	73,5 ^a
Malawi	21 420	15,5%
Mozambique	13 369	9,7%
Zambia	1 398	1,0%
Other	410	0,3%
Not stated	8	
	<u>*138 352</u>	<u>100,0%</u>

Source: Central Statistical Office, Salisbury.

Private communication Ref. No. LS/3/01, 22/4/1975.

*: This figure includes 4 091 employed in Agriculture and Forestry and 957 in Mining and Quarrying.

a: Percentages added.

For Salisbury it is reported (Corporate Development Group 1974: 15-8) that 28 597 aliens out of 198 300 in employment in 1974 occupied 14,42 per cent of the jobs available in the City, a reduction in percentage of 12,04 per cent from 1969. Table 3.27 gives the origin of Rhodesian labour by industrial sector in the Salisbury Area in 1974.

Foreign immigration has resulted in large proportions of aliens settling in family accommodation in Salisbury. For example, the Corporate Development Group cites (1974:15-13, Table 7) that Salisbury accommodation units are being occupied by alien residents, for which African Administration could provide figures, as shown in Table 3.28.

Table 3.27.
Country of origin of African employees by industry - Salisbury Area 1974

Industry	Rhodesia 71.2%	Malawi 12.2%	Mozambique 7.6%	Zambia 0.9%	Other 0.4%	Not Stated 7.7%	Total 100
Manufacturing	39 775	6 815	4 246	503	223	4 302	55 864
Electricity and water	1 240	213	132	16	7	134	1 742
Construction	5 034	863	537	64	28	544	7 070
Finance, Insurance and Real Estate	1 521	260	162	19	9	164	2 135
Distribution, Restaurants, Hotels etc.	20 907	3 582	2 232	264	117	2 261	29 363
Transport and Communications	6 380	1 092	681	81	36	690	8 960
Public Administration	5 313	910	567	67	30	574	7 461
Education	2 290	392	244	29	13	248	3 216
Health	1 467	251	157	19	8	159	2 061
Domestics*	41 858	7 172	4 468	529	235	4 527	58 789
Other Services	8 310	1 423	887	105	47	899	11 671
Total	134 095	22 973	14 315	1 696	753	14 502	188 332

* Estimated based on 1969 Census Proportions.

Source: Central Statistical Office, Salisbury.
Private communication Ref. No. LS/3/01.22/4/75.

Notes: see Table 3.8.

Table 3.28.

Distribution of alien tenants in Salisbury Townships

Township	Housing units	Registered alien tenants	Housing units taken by aliens
Tafara	2 744	42,97%	1 179
Mabvuku	5 296	38,60%	2 044
Mufakose	6 638	35,87%	2 381
Harare	5 707	31,00%	1 769
Hostels	25 000 bed spaces	8,70%	2 175 bed spaces

Source: Corporate Development Group, City of Salisbury 1974: 15-13, Table 7.

The second historical feature of increasing Rhodesian urbanization is that in Salisbury, foreign Africans tend to form a *socio-economic substratum*. The Corporate Development Group (1974:15-1 to 15-15) provide some evidence of this. They contend that firstly aliens are employed to a greater extent in sectors with low wages such as the domestic sector, where they occupy approximately one-third of posts (1974:15-8). This is however not supported by figures in Table 3.27 which shows foreigners occupying all industrial sectors in approximately equal proportions to Rhodesians. Secondly, the Corporate Development Group cites a large proportion of Salisbury aliens as being in the lower earning brackets, which are eligible for rental subsidies.

Given this phenomenon of a foreign substratum in the study context, one might expect automatic advancement of Rhodesian Africans on power status lines as observed in comparable substratification situations elsewhere (cf. Hoffmann-Nowotny 1973:332). It is however argued that such advancement opportunities are very limited due to structural marginal conditions. This is a point which will be discussed in greater detail in the empirical part of this report.

CHAPTER 4.SALISBURY'S HINTERLAND: THE AFRICAN RURAL AREAS.

"When students of a generation hence seek to understand the phenomena of urbanisation in this part of Africa, they will be well-advised to begin their studies with an analysis of the course of events in the agrarian sector" (Barber 1967:123).

Heeding this advice, we shall in passing spend a moment reviewing the situation in Salisbury's hinterland, before commencing with the actual reporting on the substantial findings of this study. In the past, Salisbury's hinterland stretched beyond the Rhodesian borders, but today fresh recruitment from outside the country has virtually come to a standstill¹⁾ though a large foreign born contingent still remains in the Salisbury urban area (cf. Chapter 3). The majority of Salisbury's African population is composed of rural in-migrants, and even if natural increase is making contributions to urban growth, 'quasi-stabilization' tends to blur any sharp distinction between these two sources of growth potential. We can therefore safely assume that the vast majority of Salisbury's Africans still originates from the rural hinterland and, moreover, will in all probability return there at the end of their working lives. It is to these Rhodesian rural areas that we shall now turn.

As mentioned above, Rhodesian land is divided along racial lines into European and African land. The African area of approximately 180 000 square kilometres occupies nearly half of the country and can be subdivided into several categories. The largest of these is the Tribal Trust Lands (TTLs) covering 161 509 square kilometres or some 41 per cent of the total area of Rhodesia, where rights to use land are allocated in a manner based on customary land law. Another important category is that of the African Purchase Lands (APLs), where Africans can obtain farms on freehold title. Whether the APLs should be included as part of the 'tribal areas' is arguable, but their connection with the tribal economic situation is so close, that for convenience' sake we shall for the mean time include them in our discussion.

By and large the TTLs tend to be situated in areas characterized by lighter soils, greater temperatures and lower rainfalls than much of the European area of the country. It is argued that historically seen these were areas inhabited by indigenous tribal groups before the arrival of the

1) Net African migration figures are negative for the 1958 through 1972 period (Monthly Digest of Statistics, Central Statistical Office, Salisbury), and the largest urban centres of Bulawayo and Salisbury have been declared 'closed labour areas' for alien Africans since 1959.

Whites. Heavier soils were difficult to cultivate by the simple methods available to the tribesmen in those days and the damper and colder regions could have offered little attraction to populations whose technical level was not sufficiently high to provide them with the necessary protection and comforts (Hughes 1974:13). The TTLs tend to be remote, in the sense of having poorer communications than other areas and being situated far away from the major towns. Two-fifths of all tribal areas are over 80 kilometres from a railway and three-fifths of TTL and APL land combined is over 80 kilometres from any large town (Hughes 1974:12; cf. also Kay 1972). It is accepted that a large proportion of the African rural areas is situated in the less favourable agro-ecological regions of the country (see Table 4.1).

Table 4.1.

The percentage distribution of agro-ecological regions by type of area in Rhodesia

	Agro-ecological regions					
	I	II	III	IV	V	X
National and Unreserved Lands	16	6	12	18	23	44
Tribal Trust Land	13	21	39	50	49	48
African Purchase Area	-	4	4	4	2	6
European Area	71	69	45	28	26	2
	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Kay 1972:16; Hughes 1974:14.

Notes: The agro-ecological classification of regions is based primarily on climatic conditions. Region I has high rainfall. Region II is an area where rainfall is adequate in most years to make commercial crop production an economic proposition. Regions III - V have a lower mean effective rainfall and commercial farmers are not recommended to attempt to make a living from cropping. The areas are reputedly better suited for livestock production. Region X includes areas of erratic rainfall classified unsuitable for either commercial dry-land agriculture or stock farming (Hughes 1974:14).

Sizing up the productive capacity of the African rural areas it can be stated that 10 per cent occurs in agro-ecological regions I and II (good quality), 15 per cent is in region III (mediocre potential), while 37 and 33 per cent are in regions IV and V (poor and very poor agricultural land), the remaining 5 per cent are in region X (unsuitable for farming) (Kay 1975:10). Hughes (1974:14) is however careful to qualify this by noting that although regions III - V may not be suitable for cropping on a large-scale commercial basis, the production of crops under tribal conditions *can* be an economic proposition except in extremely bad years, even in region IV. However, he concludes that the fact remains that some 66

per cent of the TTLs are in regions III, IV or V and are not ideally suited for the production of *traditional* crops by *traditional* methods.

In 1973 the sales of African grown crops through official marketing agencies yielded a total of 8 743 833 and 2 885 167 dollars for the TTLs and the APLs respectively (Hughes 1974:27). By comparison, the output from the European sector, with approximately the same area of land available to it as in the African area, is about three times as large as the total African output. The fact that only a relative small proportion of the total African output reaches the outside market through official marketing agencies highlights the greater economic importance of the subsistence element (Hughes 1974:26).

As regards population in African rural areas, Hughes (1974:13) gives a reasonable estimate of a *de jure* population of 4 700 000 for the TTLs in 1974 and some 155 000 for APLs. This leaves something in the order of one million Africans without claims to any homes in African areas of which a proportion will be aliens. - The distribution of Africans in the European and African sectors of the economy is shown in Tables 4.2 and 4.3 using census figures.

Table 4.2.

Rhodesian African population structure 1962 and 1969

Category of land	Area (sq.km.)	1962 Population	1969 Population
Tribal Trust Land	163 143	1 998 710 55,3%	2 911 040 60,1%
African Purchase Area	17 047	106 070 2,9%	132 810 2,7%
European Rural Areas	210 390	858 830 23,7%	998 510 20,6%
Urban Areas	-	652 960 18,1%	801 760 16,6%
Rhodesia	390 580	3 616 570 100,0%	4 844 120 100,0%

Source: Kay 1972:11.

Notes: 'European Rural Areas' include National and Unreserved Lands which has African populations of 35 420 and 52 750 respectively in 1969. The 1962 population is that enumerated in 1962 which the Central Statistical Office now believes to be an understatement.

Table 4.3.

African population distribution (1969)

	Total Population	Men	Women	Children
African rural areas (TTL, APA)	62,8%	46,3%	66,3%	69,9%
European areas	37,2%	53,7%	33,7%	30,1%
	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Source: Kay 1972:17. Totals added.

Although the African areas are seen as markedly poorer in terms of infrastructure and productive capacity, they carry the larger part (62,8% in 1969) of the total African population. Table 4.2 demonstrates that the *absolute numbers* of Africans in the European controlled sectors of the money economy are increasing, but that the *proportion* of the African population in urban centres is decreasing. In other words urban growth continues, but urbanization is slowing down. The European areas, although carrying less than two-fifths of the African population as a whole, support more than half of the adult males. The heaviest burden of dependents is however carried by the African rural areas (see Table 4.3). The inequality of distribution is however less marked than in 1962 (Kay 1972:17). Writing in 1972, Harris (1972:39) reckons, that, with over half the African population under seventeen years of age, approximately 30 per cent of African adults are directly employed in the cash economy and that as much as 55 or 60 per cent of total African households may depend entirely or partially on income from employment in the cash sector.

Due to uneven population distribution over various land categories in Rhodesia, the African areas support the higher densities of population. The mean density of TTLs is 18 persons per square kilometre (Interim Report on the 1969 Census), which is twice that of APLs with 8 per square kilometre, and three times that of the European area with 6 per square kilometre (Kay 1972:20). Kay (1975:9-10) demonstrates that there is a clear positive relationship between land quality and population density in TTLs, but also, that within each agro-ecological region there is a wide range of TTL densities including very high ones. Kay estimates that already the 1969 African population, taken globally, was some 40 per cent in excess of the critical level with reference to the perpetual safety of the land and due to population increase, the degree of overcrowding is growing rapidly. However, by the same analysis, Kay draws our attention to the ability of over-populated land, actually during the course of its deterioration, to support high densities. As an academic rather than a planning exercise, Kay calculates that if all African rural areas were to carry the high densities now extant in some

localities, a 107 per cent increase on the 1969 population could be supported (1975:10). However, it must be noted that the African population at the present rate of increase has a doubling time of under 20 years (Hanks 1975:5).

The tribal areas are divided into 165 separate units, each known as 'such and such TTL'. These units tend to be clustered in certain parts of the country. For administrative purposes, the TTLs are grouped together into 51 geographical divisions known as Districts. Below the level of the District, the administrative institution, which has possibly the greatest significance, is known as the Chiefdom. There are 252 separate, officially recognised Chiefdoms in the TTLs at the present time. Each Chiefdom is ruled by a leader known in English as a 'Chief'. Although varying in size, Chiefdoms are equivalent to each other in that they are autonomous units under the Rhodesian Government (Hughes 1974:16). The official pattern is that a Chief has under him a number of Headmen, and the latter have a number of Kraalheads under them (Hughes 1974:18). The Kraal is analogous to what is loosely known as the family group in Western society (Hughes 1974:162). Within each Kraal there are Homesteads comprising a number of huts sited on a cleared area. Each Homestead group normally has two distinct types of land holding, a dwelling site and an arable allocation. The de jure population tends to be between 7-8 persons. Land allocations are normally made to the head of the Homestead group who may or may not make further allocations to individuals among his dependents (Hughes 1974:164 ff.).

The question of land rights is extremely complex in African society and we shall not enter into the discussion of finer points here (see Hughes 1974:37 ff.). Suffice it to note that usually a general right, such as the Right of Avail, is acquired, from which more specific rights flow. The Right of Avail is held by the community as a whole, but every member of that community automatically participates in it. Individuals or groups acquire the specific rights derived from the general Right of Avail, by virtue of their membership of a community. One of the derived rights which is of particular importance for us, is the right of accommodation, which is subdivided into the right of residence and the right of tillage (Hughes 1974:43). From the share of the Right of Avail flow the rights to make what the group considers to be reasonable use of the natural resources available to that community, including land. Hughes maintains that in effect there are 252 separate land communities, congruent with the Chiefdoms, in the tribal areas. This would mean that when we speak of a tribesman being able to participate in the Right of Avail of his own community, we are, in practice, saying that he has a right to a fair share of the natural resources within the boundaries of his own Chiefdom (Hughes 1974:46). In the vested right to claim a share in the use of communal land lies the individual tribesman's security.

Consistent with Hughes' scheme of general and derived rights, the tribal areas can be considered as fulfilling multiple functions or roles for the African population section. Some of the more important roles according to Hughes are the following:

1. the provision of somewhere to build a dwelling;
2. the provision of raw materials: for building, for domestic needs, for fuel and handicrafts;
3. to grow the crops for one's own and one's family consumption;
4. the provision of grazing for one's stock;
5. the basis of a "social security system" for oneself and one's descendants;
6. a potential source of monetary income. (Hughes 1974:25)".

Categorically it can be stated that the bulk of tribal land is currently being used for agricultural and grazing purposes (roles 3 and 4); primarily to supply the so-called subsistence needs of its inhabitants (Hughes 1974:26). With the increased production of cash crops and the development of tribal areas, role 6 could significantly gain importance. The first two roles (roles 1 and 2) should not be under-rated according to Hughes, for living accommodation in urban areas is expensive - and difficult to come by (cf. Chapter 3). Role 5 is of particular interest to us: herein lies the crucial mechanism linking the urban and rural areas and perpetuating circular migration.

Hughes' role definition above provides a useful starting point for the discussion of the intricate relationship between the urban centre and its rural hinterlands. Expressed in other words, we might say that these six roles represent the rural 'pull' for migrants working in town. Furthermore, we might consider that the roles are interdependent to a certain degree in that emphasis of one role works to mitigate the weight given another. It is our contention that the stress placed on role 5 (social security) by the migratory system - inclusive 'quasi-stabilization' - undermines the full realization of role 6, i.e. rural development.

One of the chief problems of the rural areas today is over-population and the imminent threat is increasing steadily. In terms of migration theory, population pressure may be regarded as the rural 'push'. Due to population growth the fixed land available to Africans has decreased relative to the African population. In 1946, the total available land for the African population per head was 12,6 acres. In 1962 this had been reduced to 11,5 acres. By 1969 this figure had fallen to 8,8 acres per head (Clarke 1974b:96). In TTLs subject to high population pressure food production is the first essential and in the absence of improved yields the extra requirements can only be met by a continued extension of the cultivated acreage to the detriment of grazing areas, thus destroying the ecological balance and creating a vicious circle (Hamilton 1965:42). As regards livestock, with population pressure there is a tendency to shift from multi-purpose cattle to hardier species of goats and donkeys, the former being kept for meat, the latter as draught animals. The decrease in cattle leads among other things to a shortage of traction power and compost (Kay 1975:9); apart from the fact that cattle also have various ritual functions in African society.

Hughes cites a report which estimates that in one TTL between two-thirds and three-quarters of families did not produce enough food

to satisfy their own needs; that approximately one-third had no cattle; and that a high proportion did not possess adequate agricultural implements (1974:290). Already in the 1940s it was reported "that any area of land will support in perpetuity only a limited number of people ... if this limit is exceeded, without a compensating change in the system of land usage, then a cycle of degenerative changes is set in motion, which must result in deterioration or destruction of the land" (W. Allen cited in Kay 1975:8). Under these circumstances not only the land suffers but so do the people; their standard of living deteriorates and some development is necessary in order to stand still (Kay 1975:8). Overpopulation can best be defined in terms of increasing scarcity of whatever resource, commodity or service is under review. It can be demonstrated that under population pressure the resource base suffers and so does the mode of life and standard of living (Kay 1975:8). In terms of the scheme of rights and derived rights, we can say that a shrinkage of the Right of Avail occurs with the overall decrease in the pool of natural resources in the TTLs. Hughes postulates that the more the Right of Avail shrinks, the less valuable will be any share in it, and the less effective will be the power of controlling access to it (1974:48). A further important factor is that with increasing population pressure, large-scale commercialization of arable tribal land might be seen as a threat by those, who regard land primarily as a 'pension scheme' (role 5 above), and so lead them to oppose such agricultural developments. Although there is no clear-cut evidence of this in Rhodesia as of yet, commercialization of arable land is often stigmatized as "selling of the soil" in Swaziland where a similar tenurial system holds (Hughes 1974:46).

The alternative responses to the rural 'push' caused by population pressure in terms of migration theory are either:

- 1) improvement of the status position of the rural area as a whole (i.e. rural development), or
- 2) individual migration

(see Chapter 2, Hoffmann-Nowotny's migration theory). In Rhodesia, rural migration of the circular, and more recently, of a more permanent type, has been the traditional solution to the rural 'push'; development of the rural areas has proved a more difficult undertaking.

We shall discuss some characteristics of both responses starting with evidence of *rural emigration*.

Proportions of fifty per cent or more male absentees in Rhodesian African villages are not uncommon. For example Hughes (1974:169) cites a total 34,2 per cent absent population (percentage of total de jure population) and a 63,6 per cent absent male population in a Wedza sample. In a Shona ward in Salisbury's hinterland (Mangwende Chiefdom in Mrewa District), Chavunduka (1970:8) reports increasing male absenteeism due to labour migration over the years. The proportion of working age males absent from villages in the ward rose from 24,13 per cent in 1948, to

46,4 per cent in 1958 and 67,4 per cent in 1968. Chavunduka attributes the increase, at least in part, to rising standards of living and vastly increased new wants created by contacts with Western civilization. Bourdillon (1973) observed that nearly half the adult population were away from home or in or seeking wage employment in an Eastern Korekore area in north-east Rhodesia in 1969-1971. Whereas these villagers could live off the veld in former times, they are today dependent on cash earnings in times of famine. A few families are deliberately organized so that there are always some members away earning cash incomes and there is also someone looking after the rural home.

As regards the *development* of the rural areas, the potential is latent: taken as a whole, African agriculture is a sizable enterprise. If productivity could be increased, by say 50 per cent, this would imply an increase in 'income' of the order of \$40 million per annum using 1973 as example (Hughes 1974:28). Attempts to increase the agricultural output in Rhodesia date back to the beginning of this century. The history of development policy following Hughes may be divided into four periods or phases in terms of the main emphases of official policy: stabilization, centralization, individualization (of tenure) and localization (of decisions regarding land use) (1974:146 ff.). The main aim of the stabilization phase was to discourage the practice of shifting cultivation. This flowed almost automatically into the centralization phase where Homesteads were resettled into 'Lines' and arable lands and grazing areas were allocated to the inhabitants of the 'Lines' by agriculturists. The passing of the Native Land Husbandry Act of 1951 introduced individualization of tenure. The period of implementation lasted for approximately a decade but was never completed. The phases of centralization and individualization displayed a certain preoccupation with orderliness, which was possibly "to the detriment of, or irrelevant to the welfare of settlers, or efficiency of resource use" (Chambers cited in Hughes 1974:146). The Land Husbandry Act created a great deal of ill-feeling among tribesmen towards agents of Government and disturbed social stability (1974:148). Moving away from the standardization of the rules of land tenure, the Tribal Trust Land Act of 1967 gave legal recognition to bodies known as Tribal Land Authorities. These bodies today have the legal power to allocate rights to use land in the areas falling within their jurisdiction (1974:24). In ultimate analysis, Tribal Land Authorities are the entire communities legally resident in each of the Chiefdoms. One significant effect of the localization policy is that it is now possible for the rules of land tenure to evolve quite differently in every Chiefdom.

When reviewing *development* policy, the experiment with a novel category of African rural area, the *African Purchase Lands* (APLs), merits special attention in respect of its tenurial system. Following Hughes (1974:223 ff.) the African Purchase Lands (previously known as Native Purchase Areas) were first established by the Land Apportionment Act of 1930. This Act deprived Africans of the right which they had held up to then to buy land anywhere in Rhodesia outside the Reserves (TTLs today) and in exchange set aside certain specific areas in which they could acquire land on freehold tenure. In APLs it was recommended that no communal tenure be allowed. They were sited adjacent to TTLs, in the hopes that the

tribal land holders would benefit from observing the improved agricultural practices which it was assumed would be adopted in APLs. The Land Apportionment Act allocated approximately 3 035 000 hectares for use as APLs. Due to encroachment by neighbouring tribesmen considerable portions of this land became "communal by default" and was subsequently reclassified as tribal land. The 1969 Land Tenure Act allocated 1 484 977 hectares for use as APLs and more recent adjustments have brought this down to 1 479 921 hectares (1974:224). There are at present 66 separate APLs and a total of 8 809 farms are now occupied. These farms vary in size from about 20 hectares to over 800 hectares. The occupied farms cover 932 995 hectares, the remaining area is divided into 'planned' and 'unplanned' area. An interesting feature of the 'unplanned' area is that apart from area set aside for future farms, infrastructure and townships, it also comprises small 4-6 hectare plots. The original intention was to allocate these plots to retired service men, or to elderly Africans who had no rights in TTLs, for them to occupy for their lifetime only. However, the practice of granting lifetime only rights had to be discontinued in 1965 due to overpopulation by kinsfolk of the original occupants (1974:224).

Since 1954, applicants for APL farms require evidence of having sufficient capital and ability as farmers to qualify. Usual evidence is a Master Farmer's certificate or formal training at an agricultural school. This selection only applies to the first generation of occupants, Africans acquiring freehold title in APLs either through purchase or inheritance are not required to possess these qualifications.²⁾ Before the introduction of the 1969 Land Tenure Act, freehold title could be obtained after approximately 7 years which included a probation period. Under current policy, title is usually granted towards the end of a 20 year period. The purchase price is divided by 20 to give a figure for annual payments. Once freehold title is granted, the owner is no longer subject to inspections, which ensure that farming methods employed meet certain standards, and farms can be sold, at whatever price may be agreed upon, to any other African. In April 1974 approximately half of the occupied APL farms were held on freehold title, the other half on Agreement of Lease (1974:226). The increase in price of sales in an APL near Salisbury is noteworthy and according to Cheater cited by Hughes (1974:227), prices may be expected to rise still further as land speculation as opposed to the present search for land security becomes a factor in buyers' motivation.

The question was raised above, if the distinction between APLs and TTLs is a valid one. Historically seen and for analytic purposes we might argue yes, but for empirical purposes we might cast some doubts. For instance, Kay contends that there is an outflow of migrants from the APLs to other sources of paid employment and a return of cash and goods similar to those noted as characteristic of tribal society. The case for treating the population of the APLs as a separate group may be justifiable according to Kay, on the grounds of relatively more advanced farming methods, a market orientation and different land use (1972:12). As regards higher outputs of purchase land compared to tribally held land, Hughes (1974: 239 ff.) views the viability of APL farms as relative. It may be true

2) It is generally observed that the ages of APL farm holders tend to be high (Hughes 1974:230).

that a large proportion of these farms are engaged in commercial agriculture in the simplistic sense that they sell a high proportion of their output. Nevertheless, there is considerable consensus that the original aim of the evolution of a prosperous middle class farmer in this area has not succeeded. The reasons are complex and include such factors as the size of the farms, lack of capital and credit facilities, inferior geographical situations of farms, and labour utilization. For our study purposes, it is however interesting to note that "there is evidence that many of those living in APLs are better educated, have higher incomes (from various sources), and live more technically sophisticated lives than do the majority of those living in the TTLs" (Hughes 1974:244). It appears that many APL farmers make considerable efforts to secure a good formal education for their children, even if they themselves have received no or little education. There are however some suggestions that security of ownership presents the main motivation towards obtaining title (cf. Cheater 1974:19-21), and that farming standards decline after the granting of title. Not unrelated is the notion that second generation owners - apart from lacking qualifications - may be less motivated farmers and therefore less productive.

In conclusion to this digression it is our contention that the APLs and their occupants may have much in common with freehold residential areas and their inhabitants in town. We shall later see, that striking parallels between the status levels, living standards and outlook of the two population groups can be drawn.

Returning to the *Tribal Trust Lands*, the obstacles to successful agricultural reform and *rural development* are many. It has often been argued that there can be no hope of any improvement in the state of tribal agriculture unless the whole system of land tenure is changed. It has been suggested that one of the main causes of the under-use, and sometimes flagrant misuse, of land in these areas is the manner in which rights to use this land are presently being allocated. That is, the present tribal system of land tenure results in rights over much of the available land being held by persons whose primary interest is not in agriculture, in any commercial sense, but who do find that a somewhat casual exploitation of these rights is to their own economic advantage. 'Individualized tenure' is, however, not the patent solution as evidenced during the implementation of the Land Husbandry Act. For various reasons this attempt at land reform failed, moreover it resulted in creating a landless class.

The multiple roles of the tribal rural areas may thus be regarded as a substantial obstacle to rural development. The elimination of casual exploitation of land by those who place the highest priority on the 'social security' role (5), would give the commercial agricultural role (6) sufficient scope to stimulate rural development. However, under the present migration system this is not feasible. While it is obviously desirable that all tribal land and stock be controlled only by those interested in commercial agriculture, the remainder who have land rights, of various kinds, at the present time do derive very real economic benefits from these rights (cf. Hughes 1974:33). The view has been aired that if under changing cir-

circumstances a large proportion of the excess population could be drained off the TTLs, there is a likelihood that the tribal areas will become populated to an increasing extent by those who have a genuine interest in farming (cf. Hamilton 1965:57).

The *consequences of rural-urban migration* at the receiving end were discussed under the heading of 'urbanization' in Chapter 2. In this chapter it is apposite to take a closer look at the effects of the migration system on the rural areas and their inhabitants. This topic has in the past been dealt with by social anthropologists in the course of their studies of African villages. In general terms, a broad distinction between the economic and social consequences of labour migration has been made. These early studies tended to stress that the general standard of living had been improved in villages with migration, though the absence of a large proportion of able-bodied men was often deplored for economic as well as for social reasons. Seen from the rural end (e.g. Richards 1939; Read 1942; Skinner 1960), the overall verdict was possibly more weighted toward approval of the migratory system by economic standards. As regards the effects of migration on the continuity of the rural social structure, the judgement passed by social anthropologists was perhaps less favourable, though flexibility of rural structures to adapt 'positively' or 'functionally' to changing circumstances was frequently observed (e.g. Skinner 1960; van Velsen 1961). In this connection the superior capability of the patrilineal social structure to cope with the migration system was discussed at some length especially for the Central African context (e.g. Richards 1939; Read 1942; Watson 1958; Harris 1959). Furthermore it was concluded that the proportion of men away (see above) or overall rates of migration have little meaning for judging the effects of labour migration on the rural areas. Without going into the details of singular monographs, it might be useful to repeat Gugler's summary of findings, in his review article on the impact of migration on society and economy in sub-Saharan Africa, which helps to account for local divergences. According to Gugler (1968:479 ff.) it is the distribution of men between productive units as well as within such a unit over time which are crucial for an assessment whether male absence has a detrimental effect on the rural community or not. Summing up the evidence on the *economic consequences* of labour migration for the rural community, Gugler (1968:478) postulates they are a function:

- 1) of the community's dependence on male labour;
- 2) of the control it is able to exert over the timing and the length of the migrants' absence;
- 3) of the transfer of income from wage labour;
- 4) of forms of co-operation.

Similarly the *social consequences* of labour migration are determined by the strength of the rural community in evolving patterns adapted to the new conditions and enforcing the required behaviour of its members (Gugler 1968:479).

Focussing on the economic aspects of the West African labour migration system, Berg contends that the benefits of seasonal migration

far outweigh the costs for individual migrants, and on the level of the village economy as a whole, labour migration is the most efficient way to meet money-income needs (1965:170-173). It is interesting to note that Berg does admit that the benefit to the village may only be short-term and even present an obstacle to structural change (1965:176). However, Berg concludes that, until the economy changes in West Africa, migration continues to make good sense from the point of view, both of the individual concerned, and of the economy as a whole (1965:181).

Coming closer to home, Barber analyses migratory labour systems in Central African economies. He writes that in the early days of European settlement, migratory arrangements offered advantages to both sides. Europeans were permitted to obtain labour at low rates and even when receiving a 'single man's wages', an African rural family might enjoy a higher real income than otherwise available to them. Barber argues that so long as manpower could be spared for intermittent periods without loss in agricultural output, spells of wage employment on the part of adult males could augment the income of the family group (1967:100-101).³⁾

In this connection economists introduced the concept of 'disguised village unemployment', which, when effectively reduced, could boost the rural standard of living. According to this concept a surplus of labour relative to resources was characteristic of many underdeveloped countries, particularly in the rural sector of the economy. This was often hidden by under-utilization and poor organization of labour. Where the absence of men from their villages for considerable periods could be countenanced without village agricultural output falling, this phenomenon was termed "periodic disguised unemployment" (Johnson 1967:228).

Distance to labour centres (cf. Niddrie 1954) was considered an important factor in reducing disguised unemployment. It was assumed that a country like Rhodesia with reasonable transport and communication, could absorb the benefits from reducing disguised unemployment more easily than a more far-flung country like Zambia (Johnson 1967:230). Although good evidence of seasonal unemployment in Central African villages was reported, many villagers in more accessible areas were observed to be adding to their real earnings by taking dry-season employment, especially in Rhodesia where adjustments to the migration system had been made over the years (Johnson 1967:232). The differential dependence on direct and indirect employment opportunities according to distance from the labour centre can be assessed from Kay's compilation of sources of cash income in Ushi villages in a Northern Rhodesian (Zambia) district. The data reveals a tendency for greater reliance on income from wages with closeness to the labour centre; conversely reliance on unearned income (remittances and gifts) increases with greater distance from the labour centre (Kay 1964:20).

3) This is comparable to Watson's (1958) thesis of labour being deployed on two fronts; in the labour centre and in village agriculture.

Today the positive evaluation of the migrant system as a means of relieving the rural 'push' and reducing pressure on scarce resources is less widespread. Labour migration often appears as a retarding factor, as an obstacle to genuine change in traditional agriculture (cf. Gugler 1968:482⁴). This is especially the case when a distinction between long and short-term effects are made. It is argued that the migrant labour system brings only short-term relief from rural land pressure and dependency on the migratory mechanism may even be ruinous to the emitting context in the long run. (On the urban side the long-term policy change involving a shift from reliance on migrant labour to reliance on more stabilized labour over the years has been discussed in Chapter 3).

Similarly, the frequently postulated long-term effect of 'social change' introduced by returning migrants is questioned. Apart from raising the level of aspirations, the receptivity of and capacity for agricultural innovation may not be enhanced by migration as previously assumed. For Rhodesia, Hughes (1974:290) reports that, although in theory migrant labour could have advantages, in practice, a large number of cultivators with additional sources of income have not shown any great enthusiasm for converting wages into necessary agricultural inputs. Reviewing urban budget surveys from the late fifties for Southern Rhodesia, Barber is inclined to think that some groups are likely to receive more support from rural relatives than they transfer to them. Single men formed the only group from which cash flow in favour of rural areas was consistently positive. Among urban families, some with above average income levels were in a net deficit position with respect to urban-rural transfer (Barber 1965:116). At the rural end the spread effects of remittances of cash and acquisition of skills may be less than is often supposed (cf. Caldwell 1969:60), for savings may be spent on consumption rather than investment and many skills are not applicable in the rural areas (cf. Gould 1974). Wilson (1972a:131) even goes so far to suggest that, through changes in consumption patterns and redistribution of the higher gross village income, migration may have the secondary effect of redistributing income in such a way that those left behind might be worse off than before!

One of the most central arguments is whether the 'man of two worlds' can do justice to two diverse contexts simultaneously. Just as short-term, ad hoc adaptation to labour demands are no longer viable in urban centres, in the rural area traditional agriculture and land distribution geared to ad hoc needs must give way to more intensive, carefully planned and co-ordinated farming enterprises designed to meet the needs of an expanding population. Gugler refers to the migratory system as a

4) Hamilton (1965:56) observes an interesting instance of adaptation of the shifting cultivator to novel conditions of land pressure: Crop failure had compelled a cultivator to let his land lie fallow after continuous cultivation. While waiting for the land to recover the agriculturalist migrated to Salisbury.

"low-level equilibrium trap": so long as it exists African villagers will neither become progressive farmers, nor efficient employees in the external economy (Gugler 1968:482).

It is suggested that this distinction between short and long-term costs and benefits is crucial to the issue of consequences of migration. Whereas there was a tendency to concentrate on short-term analysis in earlier studies, the shift to long-term analysis has entailed a revision of earlier conclusions (cf. Gould 1974 in his bibliographical review). Parallel to this trend, is the shift toward considering the African rural areas as potential commercial agricultural areas and not merely as the reserves of traditional subsistence farming reminiscent of the past. Today there is also a tendency to view the rural side as the loser in the migration game. This is partially related to the fact that the rural 'push' is ever increasing and tends to undermine the bargaining position of migrants and limit the choice factors involved in the decision to migrate (cf. Bourdillon above).⁵⁾ Concepts such as 'underdevelopment of the rural areas' express this idea of 'exploitation' of rural labour (Clarke 1974b; Harris 1974:33 ff.). Arrighi (1970) shows that the 'development of underdevelopment', that is, increasing impoverishment of the peasant farming sector, has increased the need for rural residents to seek employment in the money economy and at the same time has lowered the wage they are prepared to accept in such employment.

Similar to other African rural areas the increasing rural 'push' in the study context is largely the result of population increase accompanied by serious land deterioration. The use of land for security as opposed to agricultural output purposes, brought about by mere 'quasi-stabilization' instead of *complete* stabilization of migrants in the receiving context, might be seen as having a multiplier effect on land deterioration. Given that the rural 'push' is greatly increasing and assuming that a long-term view is essential for adequate analysis of the effect of migration on the economy, three fundamental points may be stressed in this connection.

1. The long-term beneficial effect of migration as a pressure relief mechanism can today no longer be seen in isolation. The rural and urban ends should be viewed as two aspects of the same process.⁶⁾

- 5) In this connection it is worth noting Lee's (1969) proposition that a selection in migration exists only when migration is primarily a reaction to the 'pull' of the receiving area as against the 'push' of the emitting area. Where the 'push' dominates, 'mass' migration sets in.
- 6) Along similar lines Barber (1967:108 ff.) following Hoselitz' distinction between the 'generative' and 'parasitic' properties of cities, analyses the close economic inter-relationship between Rhodesian cities and their hinterlands.

2. Related to this is a tendency to seek relief from the pressure on rural resources on both the rural and urban front in a co-ordinated manner (cf. McLoughlin 1964). Development of the rural areas with simultaneous absorption of surplus rural population by the labour centres are advocated (cf. Kay 1975; Hamilton 1965:42, 56; Barber 1967:122-123).
3. The time factor in implementing changes is regarded with increasing interest.

Ad. 1. The close inter-relationship of Rhodesia's two most pressing economic problems - the high rate of natural increase of the population and the state of underdevelopment and stagnation in the African rural sector of the economy has been emphasized by Harris (1974:34-35). It is generally recognised that only a family with a standard of living worth protecting and a reasonably secure outlook on life is likely to be interested in controlling family size.

In the *rural areas* there is evidence that under conditions of uncertainty, peasant communities seek not to maximize incomes, but to maximize security in the first instance. This is achieved in part by increasing family size. For the Rhodesian context Theisen (1974) has attempted at providing evidence for this postulated relationship. - According to what Kay refers to as the 'job lottery', the greater the number of children, the greater the chances are of one child in the family obtaining a job, or for that matter a place in a school in the Rhodesian school system (cf. Harris 1974:33). One son in the money economy can significantly influence the material standard of the whole family through the flow-back of cash and goods.

In *town* insecurity may be subdivided into job insecurity, insecurity of urban tenure and inadequacy of wages (Harris 1974:20 ff.). The first two types of insecurity refer to reliance on the rural home in times of unemployment through redundancy, old age or the like. The third type has reference to the period of actual employment. As Gargett (1975) points out, inadequate wages can be met in many ways, one is cutting down food consumption to the detriment of health. Related to this is letting consumers remain in the rural areas where foodstuff need not be paid for in cash. According to Harris (1974:29) the cash and goods remittances in fact only partially cover the full costs of support of resident dependents in the rural area. Therefore the major form of income supplement is found through continued reliance on the output of the peasant farming sector. - It is a well documented fact that in town family size correlates with the level of income, suggesting that as families earn more, they tend to support more members of the family in the urban areas. In the Salisbury African Townships there is a marked consistency between size of income and size of

household (CSO 1970:7).⁷⁾ - One step toward reducing population pressure in the rural areas is to completely stabilize the urban work force in order to stop workers from seeking support from the rural areas for the partial maintenance of their families and for the maintenance of themselves in retirement, thus relieving the population and economic strain on the rural resources.

Ad. 2. Kay (1975:11-12) focussing on urban manipulation suggests policy factors to implement change which he sadly admits are likely to fall on deaf ears. The two-sided development solution, concentrates firstly on developing land with the 'best' potential (for commercial agriculture) with the 'best' (i.e. most interested and skilled) of the rural population. Secondly, on the urban side the money economy must absorb more surplus rural population. Kay lists three opportunities for improvement in this respect:

1. resumption of cordial international relations;
2. maximization of labour-intensive production, and
3. African advancement.

Further recommendations are:

4. replacement of aliens by Rhodesian Africans;
5. relaxation of accommodation standards in urban areas (i.e. reversion to supervised shanty developments, perhaps site-and-service schemes, implying re-emergence of informal employment opportunities in urban areas); and
6. full and permanent support for dependents of urban employees.

The last suggestion is considered particularly important because it would "effect an early, large-scale transfer of population from African rural areas without an increase in employment" (1975:12). Kay projects that if these measures were heeded, by 1984 the African areas as presently constituted need carry only some 30 per cent of the total African population while 70 per cent would be in the money economy or in a cash-cum-subsistence economy. This would however still leave the African rural areas some 17 per cent over-populated (1975:12).

Ad. 3. The redistribution of rural population to less overcrowded areas in the north of Rhodesia may only be regarded as "buying precious time" (Kay 1975:10), but not as a fundamental solution to rural problems. Hughes' (1974:37) recommendation that existing traditional social structures be used in any development planning for the Rhodesian rural areas may also be seen as a time saving solution.

7) Heisler (1974:113) reports from Zambia, that judging from the family size difference in the lowest and highest quintiles of urban income groups, poorer families could not afford to feed their children and sometimes their wives in town. The increasing wealth of the 1960s and 1970s made this family separation less necessary.

With this background knowledge of the urban setting and its rural hinterland, we are now reasonably well-equipped for the analysis of empirical findings. We shall therefore pursue the study of African urbanization in Salisbury with the empirical evidence collected in its African Townships.

CHAPTER 5.INTRODUCTION TO EMPIRICAL RESEARCH IN SALISBURY
AFRICAN TOWNSHIPS: WORKING HYPOTHESES AND PROCEDURE.

The theoretical framework relevant to urbanization studies has been reviewed in Chapter 2. In the following Chapter 3, evidence for the historically recent expansion in the range of social mobility potential in the Rhodesian, and in the Salisbury context in particular, was presented. In the preceding chapter, interdependencies between the Salisbury urban centre and the rural hinterland were discussed. In this chapter the most general working hypotheses guiding our research into African urbanization in Salisbury will be formulated.

When reporting on empirical data from Salisbury African Townships, we have set ourselves two tasks. Firstly, we shall attempt to give evidence of the existence of status differentials between urban groups¹⁾ in Salisbury. Secondly, we shall try to specify the direction of status differentials among urban groups and link these differentials to urbanization processes and rural dependence.

It is proposed that a correlation exists between urban security and urban socio-economic status on the one hand and urban involvement on the other hand, to the effect that *with increasing urban security and socio-economic status more active involvement in urban life takes place.* To state this proposition somewhat differently in terms of structural theory, we may conceive of an 'urban' status as a set of positions occupied by a person in town on various status hierarchies, which are central to the urban context. We might argue that urban status lines with heavy security loadings and income-education status lines are instrumental to those with urban involvement loading; mobility along the former status lines is tendentially followed by mobility on the latter. Thus, the urban status configuration reflects a certain degree of urban involvement.

Seen in the light of migration processes, it is suggested that an adequate foothold in town and a certain amount of initial success is required if a migrant to town is to accept the urban frame of reference and get involved in urban institutions and social relationships. Thus, an urban security status increase initiates a self-perpetuating mechanism of status mobility reflecting ever greater involvement in urban affairs.

For purposes at hand, *urban security* is initially operationalized with tenure status, which provides in-migrants to town with a more or less secure base from which to participate in urban life. In our study we shall

1) 'Urban' designates any person presently residing in town. A more detailed discussion for the choice of this working definition is given in Chapter 2.

distinguish between urban groups of *migrants* and *townsmen* referring primarily to differential tenure status but also to differential income-educational status. The former are housed in single, rented, job-tied accommodation in hostels, the latter in family, rented or purchase accommodation in townships. *Urban elites* are not included in our study except as a reference group.²⁾ The attribute 'elite' would refer to family purchase accommodation in exclusive African residential areas. At the individual level, mobility on the tenure status line in the course of a lifetime can be traced in the transition from the 'migrant' to 'townsman' to 'urban elite' type as defined above.

Urban involvement is employed as a general term covering various urbanization aspects. The concept of urban involvement is comparable to other blanket terms used in assimilation or absorption studies. The choice of this particular concept was made, because of its emphasis on structural as against socio-cultural facets of the urbanization process.³⁾

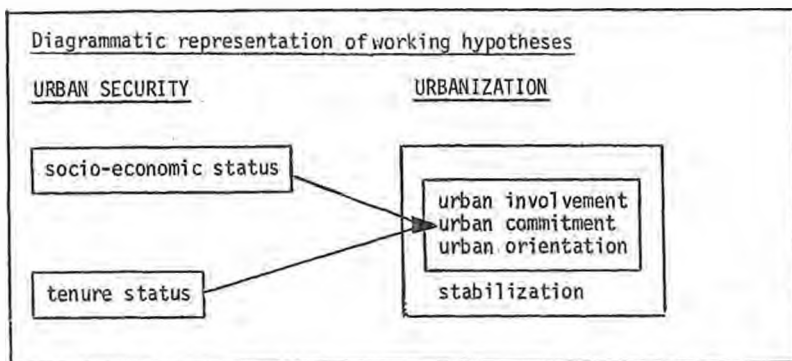
Following Mitchell it might be useful to make a sharper distinction between various aspects of the urbanization process. According to Mitchell, *urban involvement* "implies preponderant participation in activities and involvement in social relationships which are primarily centered in towns" (1973:303). Urban involvement reflects "the degree to which the migrant has become implicated in urban, as against rural, living and has tended to center his interest and activities in town affairs - though not, of course, at the same time to the complete exclusion of an interest in rural matters" (1973:303). The last point is of particular importance to African urbanization which is characterized by the retention of rural links by in-migrants. Mitchell carefully distinguishes between urban involvement and the closely related and similar concepts of stabilization, urban commitment and urbanization.

Stabilization refers essentially to the demographic aspect of the urbanization process and expresses "the degree to which people are living for longer and longer periods in urban as against rural areas" (1973:303).

Urban commitment is a psychological concept and refers to the "degree to which people are emotionally and personally involved in urban living and are likely to remain living in town in the future" (1973:303). Urban commitment is measured at the attitudinal level by assessing motivations of in-migrants.

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- 2) For the Salisbury context, Kileff (1971; 1975) provides us with an insight into the particular characteristics of this urban group, which will be used for comparative reference purposes in this study.
- 3) For the structural emphasis compare Hoffmann-Nowotny's (1973:172ff.) usage of the concept of 'integration' in his migration theory discussed above, referring to positional structure (Positionstruktur); for the socio-cultural emphasis confer Grant's (1969) concept of 'individual urbanization'.

Urbanization is used by Mitchell as a sociological concept not amenable to easy measurement which refers to "the process whereby migrants adopt behavior patterns appropriate to urban life" (1973:303). Given this definition we shall prefer to use the alternative concept of 'urbanism' as coined by Wirth. As the operationalization of this variable frequently occurs at the projective level, we shall usually refer to the concept *urban orientation*, denoting that the urban as against the rural frame of reference is relevant to the migrant.



In the diagrammatic representation of our working hypotheses above, the systematic variation between urban security and urbanization factors is depicted.

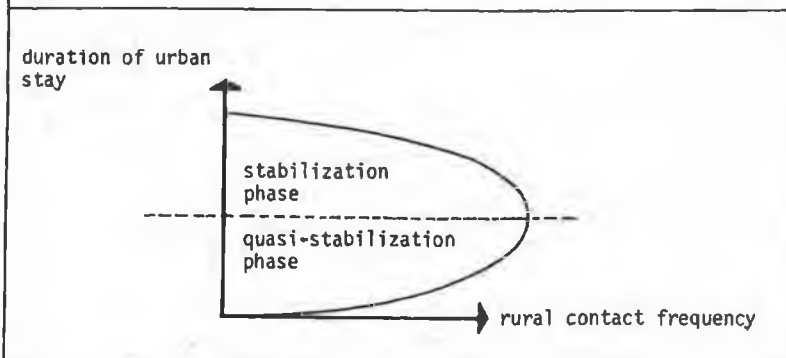
Some amount of reciprocal causal interdependence between security and urbanization variables is postulated, that is an increase in security status introduces an increase in urban involvement, which may in turn lead to an increase in security status and so forth. On the side of the determining variables, tenure and income-educational variables are closely positively related. Within the dependent variable cluster a positive correlation is proposed as a working hypothesis, with the exception of stabilization, the relationship of which to the other variables in the schema above - also with the independent ones - is more complex due to marginal conditions generally holding in African and in the local Rhodesian and Salisbury contexts in particular.⁴⁾ Difficulty in empiri-

4) Consider for example the red Xhosa migrant who rejects 'urbanism' throughout his working life through the encapsulation mechanism; also Reader's (1963) convincing argumentation that a highly 'stabilized' migrant may quite suddenly change his frame of reference at the end of a working career in town simply because the return to the rural area is then imminent.

cally determining the causal nexus of stabilization to other urbanization variables is partly caused by the dynamic character of the variable which does not lend itself to easy measurement. High or full stabilization at the individual level can only be accurately estimated after death, or possibly after a fixed retirement age if a less stringent quasi-stabilization requirement is set.

In order to specify the relationship of stabilization to the factors of urban security and urbanization more precisely, it will be necessary to look further afield. It has variously been shown that migrants and townsmen dwelling in African cities involve themselves in urban life whilst maintaining close rural connections throughout their stay (cf. Mbata 1960; Mayer 1962; Caldwell 1969; Mitchell 1973). Moreover one might even go as far as to suggest that the maintenance of rural connections is necessary or perhaps even beneficial for urban involvement at least in the quasi-stabilization phase of African urbanization, in which an urbanite must expect to retire to his rural area of origin at the end of his productive lifetime.

Diagrammatic representation of postulated relationship between duration of urban stay and rural contact frequency under varying conditions of African urbanization



In order to account for the relationship between urban security, urban involvement, and stabilization, we shall introduce the concept of *rural contact* into our discussion. Rural contact will be operationalized in this study by the frequency of visits to

the rural home and cash remittances to the persons remaining there.⁵⁾

In the study context the individual urbanization process is subject to the conditions of quasi-stabilization (lower half of schema above) and the pertinent hypothesis is that frequent contact with the rural home through actual or vicarious visiting promotes a protracted urban sojourn. Rural contact through home visiting may be conceived as a tension resolving mechanism. If, for instance, an individual is debarred from achieving a satisfactory degree of urban security, tension will arise. This tension is caused by insufficient access to central urban status lines which are instrumental to achieving security in town. The traditional solution to ease this tension is to resort to rural dependence which is achieved by maintaining contact with the rural home. We propose that the acceptability of this mechanism decreases with increasing urban socio-economic status.⁶⁾

It is evident from the context description in the preceding two chapters that urban security is lower in the quasi-stabilization phase of urbanization and higher in the stabilization phase. In the stabilization phase (upper half of schema above), it is postulated that the dependence on the rural social system for extra security is minimal and therefore only what might be referred to as 'token' rural contact for sentimental reasons is maintained. In other words a negative correlation between protracted urban stay and frequency of rural contact is expected as shown in the schema above.

In this connection it is perhaps necessary to point out that the concept of stabilization has been employed both as an attribute of

- 5) It is felt that working hypotheses should be conceived at a fairly low level of abstraction during the exploratory stage of research. We have therefore opted to employ the empirically measurable variable 'rural contact', referring to rural visiting and remittances, in preference to introducing a higher order concept such as 'rural dependence' or 'rural status'.

The notion of rural dependence as a function of urban insecurity has been discussed in the preceding chapter. Rural dependence or rural status position might be operationalized with land rights or rank in the traditional rural social system. Both of these variables are used in the empirical study. The former has proved to be an extremely important variable which is closely related to rural visiting and remittances.

- 6) Compare Hoffmann-Nowotny's (1973:176) reference to a 'Heimkehrillusion'-Mechanism which makes a marginal status and the anomie related to it bearable for in-migrants.

urban societies and of individuals (also of ideal types). The notion of increasing stabilization or the succession of stabilization phases in the history of African urbanization and migration at the societal level has its equivalent on the individual level of career history. Thus, it is conceivable that an individual migrant graduates from a 'permanent target worker' to a 'temporary target worker', to use Heisler's (1974) typology. Assuming a continuous interplay between urbanization and urban security variables, as outlined above, we might expect increasing individual stabilization to be reflected in individual mobility along the tenure status line in the course of a lifetime, i.e. transition from what we have referred to as the 'migrant' to 'townsman' to 'urban elite' type. These individual transitions are possible under conditions of quasi-stabilization.

Even though stabilization and quasi-stabilization have chiefly been used to characterize marginal conditions outside the individual's control, the passing through successive phases of urbanization might also be traced in the space of an individual's lifetime. We might imagine that certain individuals aspire to, or are actually or supposedly in a better position to move from one stabilization phase to the next on an individual basis, that is to become permanently stabilized despite prevailing marginal conditions which act as deterrents. In realistic terms, this means that such individuals defy regulations concerning urban presence after retirement, that is they do not accept marginal conditions of quasi-stabilization for themselves. At the same time a rejection of the home-visiting tension resolving mechanism of such persons might be anticipated. We postulate that higher security is conducive to permanent individual stabilization in town.

To end this discussion of working hypotheses, brief mention of the lower order variable *distance* will be made. Mitchell (1973) following an early argument put forward by Mayer (1964:32-33) shows that distance of the rural home from the urban centre is a decisive factor determining the degree to which a person is able to involve himself in urban life. Evidence for increasing involvement with shorter distance of the rural home from the urban centre is given for a 1950 Copperbelt study. One might like to specify the prevailing marginal condition as one of what we have called quasi-stabilization.⁷⁾ To complete the causal nexus of distance with other urbanization variables, it is possible to demonstrate that shorter distance of the rural home to the urban centre is positively correlated with frequent rural contacts (Møller 1974), which in turn is conducive to stabilization under quasi-stabilization conditions as depicted in the schema above.

If shorter distance to the urban centre is conducive to higher stabilization and urban involvement, one might argue that extremely long distance of the rural home to the urban centre - as in the case of foreign

7) Mitchell's (1973) evidence dates from the Zambian towns during what Heisler (1974) refers to as the early 'Towns for Africans' phase of urbanization.

migrant labour - may have two diverse effects on individual stabilization in town.

- 1) The uninterrupted sojourn in town is extremely long and ties with the rural home are almost completely severed. Consider the case of the foreign born immigrant who virtually has to be repatriated against his will at the end of a working lifetime in town under quasi-stabilization conditions.
- 2) The in-migrant remains a 'permanent target-worker' (Heisler 1974) closely following the migrant career pattern outlined in Mitchell's migrant labour paradigm. Due to the distance of the rural home, urban sojourns are longer than usual, but so are the rural home visits between 'trips' to town. Individual stabilization defined as the proportion of adult life spent in town is low.

In Chapter 3 it was suggested that due to the specific historical input of the study context, the more permanent immigrant type of foreign migrant labour is more likely to be encountered in Salisbury Townships than the classical target worker type.

In the following chapters we shall draw on data collected in the course of three surveys in Salisbury African Townships to test the working hypotheses outlined above and to explore related aspects of urban status and involvement.

- The first social survey was conducted on a systematic sample basis among workers living in single conditions in hostels in 1973. The chief aim of this study was to explore the rural visiting habits of hostel dwellers. In addition, data referring to social background, migrant career and attitudes toward urban life were collected. This survey will be referred to as the *Harare Hostels Study 1973* (Møller 1973).

- A second social survey was conducted on a systematic basis in urban households in Mufakose Township in 1973/74. The social background and the rural visiting habits of household heads and their families as well as any other household members present were explored. Information referring to urban career and urban orientation was obtained from household heads. Thus, data collected in this survey refer to a cluster sample as well as to a simple systematic sample of townsmen. Reference will be made chiefly to the townsmen sample because it is directly comparable to the other survey samples. This survey will be referred to as the *Mufakose Study 1973/74* (Møller 1974c).

- A third survey was conducted among Rhodesian born Harare Hostel dwellers, Mufakose and Kambuzuma household heads on a simple random basis with replacement. The three samples were chosen to represent urban groups with increasing tenure status: 'migrants' living in single rented

accommodation units (Harare Hostel dwellers), 'townsmen' living in rented (Mufakose tenants) and purchase family accommodation units (Kambuzuma home owners). This study focussed on the comparative status positions of each of these urban groups and on aspirations and opportunities for advancement on central status lines. Data on social background, urban career, urban involvement, commitment and orientation variables were collected as well. This survey will be referred to as the 1975 *Hostels, Mufakose and Kambuzuma Study* or simply as the 1975 *Study* (Møller 1975) depending upon the particular context.

In many respects the data collected for the five urban samples in the course of the three surveys are directly comparable. However, increasing familiarity with the research topic and longer field experience resulted in some changes in the survey design and method of data collection. Although this learning process improved the quality of the data return it renders direct comparison of the data over time more difficult in some instances.

Principle changes in the survey design relate to shifts in research aims. In keeping with 'urban research tradition' in Africa, the first two surveys were aimed at gaining a more general knowledge of the Harare Hostels and Mufakose population as well as obtaining some insight into rural visiting behaviour. The third survey was intended to explore a more limited range of questions using samples drawn from unconventional population bases. In other words, whereas the findings of the first two surveys might be of considerable interest to local administrators for planning purposes, the design of the last survey promised greater yields for the urban sociologist.

Another notable item of change in research design is the exclusion of foreign born persons in the 1975 Study. Judging from the results of the foregoing studies, the inclusion of foreign born persons in the comparative samples was expected to increase the variance within samples on key variables to such an extent that variance between samples could scarcely be discerned. It was therefore decided to exclude foreign born individuals in the 1975 Survey to enhance homogeneity within samples and aid detection of status mobility trends.

A fuller discussion of the fieldwork and methodological aspects of the conducted surveys is contained in Appendix A.

In the chapters to follow the *analysis* of the survey findings will be divided into two major parts. In a first part, a comparative survey, we shall attempt to test the working hypotheses outlined above by proving the existence of urban status differentials between the defined urban groups and then demonstrating the effect of these differentials on urbanization variables.

In a second part, a multivariate analysis of the dependent variable cluster is executed to show up inter-relationships between positions held on various status lines reflecting urban involvement.

Models depicting the empirical relationships between urbanization variables will then be developed for each survey sample (cf. Møller 1974b; 1974d). A principal component analysis of key variables is employed to determine loadings on urbanization factors using the 1975 Study data. Aim of the exercise is to develop status configuration types corresponding to the defined 'migrant' and 'townsman' types.

CHAPTER 6.

1975 SURVEY FINDINGS: BACKGROUND VARIABLES.

In the following chapters we shall aim at testing the working hypothesis that socio-economic status increases with tenure status. The systematic increase is postulated in the direction of the *Hostels to the Mufakose to the Kambuzuma sample*.

When reporting on the 1975 survey, the collected data is ordered according to topic and discussed under the headings: background variables, socio-economic status, family status, residential status, migration history, rural home visiting, investments in town and country, personal/organizational ties in town, urban orientation and life style. As the survey is considered exploratory in some respects, a wide range of variables has purposefully been included in order to allow for leeway in the subsequent multivariate analysis. The terms 'migrants' designating Hostel respondents, and 'townsman' designating Mufakose and Kambuzuma respondents will be used in the sense outlined in Chapter 5 to avoid endless repetitions of references to samples.

In comparative studies the elimination of variance on as many background factors as possible is desirable, so that the effect of major determinants may be seen more clearly. In this chapter the distribution on the variables age, origin and rural push will be examined from this viewpoint.

Age: Table 6.1 shows that township household heads are very much older than most hostel dwellers. The median ages for the Hostels, Mufakose and Kambuzuma samples are 27, 42 and 39 years respectively.¹⁾ The

- 1) The 1975 age distributions compare favourably with the 1973 Hostels and 1973/74 Mufakose ones when foreign respondents are excluded. The Hostels 1973 distribution is smoother than the 1975 one, possibly due to the larger number of respondents. Taking the time lag between surveys into consideration, the Mufakose distributions compare fairly closely because residential turnover is smaller. It must be noted that it is difficult to assess ages in the Rhodesian African population sector, especially among the older age cohorts, as many persons have only a vague recollection of their actual date of birth.

<u>Age distributions in percentages</u>		
<u>age in years</u>	<u>Hostels 1973*</u>	<u>Mufakose 1973/74[†]</u>
-19	9,5	-
20-24	29,3	5,5
25-29	25,7	13,7
30-34	15,1	22,8
35-39	9,2	26,3
40-44	4,5	15,2
45-49	2,0	11,1
50-54	2,2	5,3
55-59	1,1	4,1
60+	0,8	
	100,0	100,0
	N=358	N=171
*Rhodesians only	†Rhodesian principal respondents only	

graphic illustration of differential age distribution in Figure 8 depicts that approximately two-thirds of the persons in the Hostels sample are younger than the Townships respondents. Mufakose respondents are approximately one age cohort ahead of their respective Kambuzuma counterparts.

Table 6.1. 1975 Study

<u>Age</u>			
age in years	Hostels %	Mufakose %	Kambuzuma %
-19	3,3	-	-
20-24	32,0	-	-
25-29	28,7	2,7	3,3
30-34	8,7	8,0	15,3
35-39	12,0	24,7	30,0
40-44	5,3	28,0	36,0
45-49	4,7	22,0	11,3
50-54	4,0	10,7	2,0
55-59	1,3	2,7	0,7
60+	-	1,3	1,3
	100,1 N=150	100,1 N=150	99,9 N=150
median	27	42	39
mean	29,8	42,4	39,6

These age differences between samples will of necessity be reflected in domestic-age differentials between samples, which - according to life-cycle theory - will in turn affect residential and career history. We shall return to these points under the pertinent headings.

District of origin: In the earlier 1973 Hostels and 1973/74 Mufakose Study (cf. also Stopforth 1971:30) it was found that large proportions of Salisbury urban dwellers originate from areas in the hinterland which are accessible by the main road and rail arteries (see maps in Figures 9 and 10). This is an important factor for both the initial rural-urban migration and subsequent visits to the rural home.

Homogeneity in respect of origin between the 1975 samples is determined by the following exercise. Ranking the districts

represented in each sample,²⁾ we find that almost all respondents' homes

2)

1975 Study: District of origin						
district	Hostels		Mufakose		Kambuzuma	
	%	rank	%	rank	%	rank
Beitbridge	-	-	-	-	-	-
Belingwe	-	-	0,7	24.5	0,7	34.0
Bikita	3,3	13.0	-	-	0,7	34.0
Bindura	-	-	0,7	24.5	2,0	18.5
Binga	-	-	-	-	0,7	34.0
Bubi	1,3	20.0	1,3	19.5	-	-
Buhera	8,0	4.0	2,7	12.0	4,0	8.5
Bulawayo	-	-	-	-	0,7	34.0
Bulalimangwa	0,7	25.0	-	-	-	-
Charter	6,7	5.0	8,9	4.0	6,7	3.5
Chibi	2,7	15.0	2,7	12.0	1,3	25.0
Chilimanzi	2,7	15.0	1,3	19.5	1,3	25.0
Chipinga	0,7	25.0	-	-	3,3	11.5
Chiredzi	-	-	-	-	0,7	34.0
Darwin	2,0	17.5	0,7	24.5	1,3	25.0
Gatooma	0,7	25.0	-	-	0,7	34.0
Gokwe	-	-	-	-	1,3	25.0
Goromonzi	4,0	11.5	11,3	1.5	5,3	6.0
Gutu	8,7	2.5	2,7	12.0	6,7	3.5
Gwanda	-	-	0,7	24.5	-	-
Gwelo	0,7	25.0	-	-	2,0	18.5
Hartley	5,3	8.0	5,3	7.5	4,0	8.5
Insiza	-	-	-	-	-	-
Inyanga	5,3	8.0	4,7	9.0	2,0	18.5
Kariba	-	-	-	-	-	-
Lomagundi	4,0	11.5	2,0	15.5	3,3	11.5
Lupana	-	-	-	-	0,7	34.0
Makoni	8,7	2.5	10,7	3.0	7,3	2.0
Marandellas	5,3	8.0	5,3	7.5	5,3	6.0
Matobo	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mazoe	-	-	8,0	5.0	5,3	6.0
Melsetter	1,3	20.0	0,7	24.5	1,3	25.0
Mrewa	9,3	1.0	11,3	1.5	3,3	11.5
Mtoko	2,7	15.0	2,0	15.5	2,7	15.0
Ndanga	0,7	25.0	-	-	1,3	25.0
Nkai	0,7	25.0	-	-	1,3	25.0
Nuanetsi	-	-	-	-	-	-
Nyamandlovu	-	-	-	-	-	-
Que Que	-	-	1,3	19.5	-	-
Salisbury	2,0	17.5	3,3	10.0	2,7	15.0
Selukwe	0,7	25.0	0,7	24.5	3,3	11.5
Shamva	-	-	-	-	1,3	25.0
Sipolilo	-	-	2,0	15.5	0,7	34.0
Shabani	-	-	-	-	1,3	25.0
Umtali	5,3	8.0	6,0	6.0	8,0	1.0
Umzingwane	-	-	-	-	-	-
Urungwe	-	-	1,3	19.5	0,7	34.0
Victoria	1,3	20.0	-	-	2,7	15.0
Wankie	-	-	-	-	-	-
Wedza	5,3	8.0	2,0	15.5	2,0	18.5
	100,1		100,3		99,9	
	N=150		N=150		N=150	

are included in the first twenty ranks (95,2%, 96,1% and 79,9% in the Hostels, Mufakose and Kambuzuma samples respectively). These top ranking districts are for the most part located in the Shona-speaking section of the country. It will be noted that Kambuzuma residents tend to originate from a greater number of districts and from farther afield.

Table 6.2. 1975 Study			Joint rank of districts of origin represented in all three samples	
Districts of origin represented in three samples by rank order				
Percentage respondents represented in:				
Hostels: 80,6%	Mufakose: 78,2%	Kambuzuma: 63,3%	district	rank
Mrewa	Goromonzi	Umtali	Makoni	2.5
Gutu	Mrewa	Makoni	Charter	4.2
Makoni	Makoni	Charter	Mrewa	4.7
Buhera	Charter	Gutu	Umtali	5.0
Charter	Umtali	Goromonzi	Gutu	6.0
Hartley	Hartley	Marandellas	Goromonzi	6.3
Inyanga	Marandellas	Buhera	Marandellas	7.2
Marandellas	Inyanga	Hartley	Hartley	8.0
Umtali	Salisbury	Lomagundi	Buhera	8.2
Wedza	Buhera	Mrewa	Inyanga	11.8
Goromonzi	Gutu	Mtoko	Lomagundi	12.8
Lomagundi	Lomagundi	Salisbury	Wedza	14.0
Mtoko	Mtoko	Inyanga	Salisbury	14.2
Salisbury	Wedza	Wedza	Mtoko	15.2

Selecting only districts represented in the first twenty ranks in all three samples 14 districts remain (cf. Table 6.2.). These districts cover a large proportion of all sample respondents' homes of origin and all are without exception in the eastern half of Rhodesia which might be considered Salisbury's hinterland (see map in Figure 11).³⁾

3) Mazoe district is the only major omission in the list given in Table 6.2. It is omitted because it does not figure in the Hostels list of origins of sample respondents. When included, the proportion of the respondents' origins represented by the 15 districts is 80,6%, 86,2% and 68,6% in the Hostels, Mufakose and Kambuzuma samples respectively.

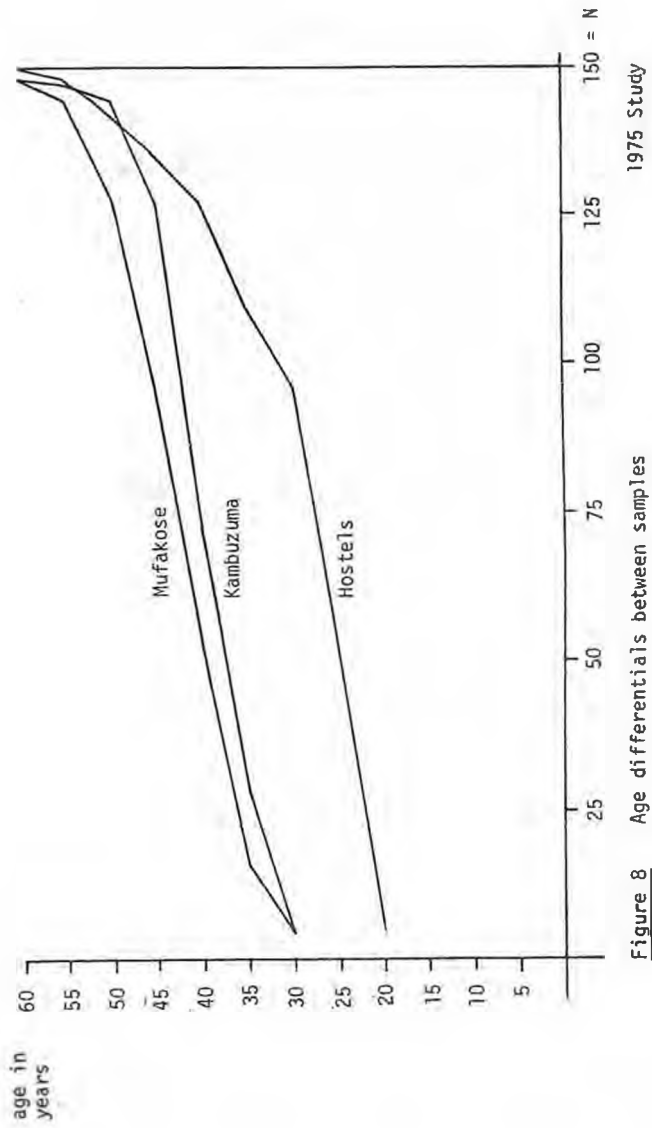
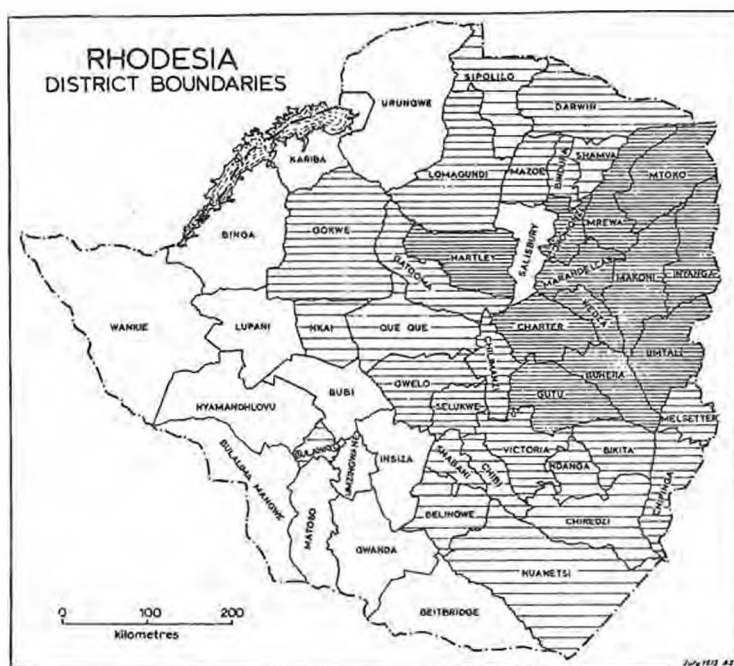


Figure 8 Age differentials between samples






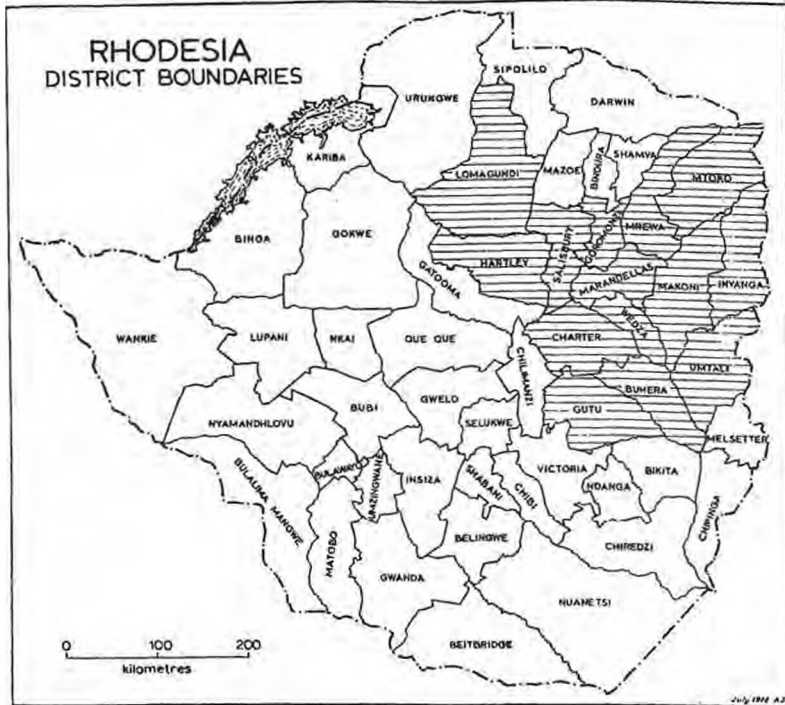
	%	cumulative %	N = 358
	68,9	68,9	
	24,7	93,6	
	6,5	100,1	

Figure 9 Districts of origin represented by percentage of Rhodesian respondents 1973 Hostels Study



	%	N
Hostels sample	80,6	150
Mufakose sample	78,2	150
Kambuzuma sample	63,3	150

Figure 11 Districts of origin represented by percentage of sample respondents 1975 Study

Population pressure in the Tribal Trust Land of origin: In Chapter 4 it was noted that district boundaries do not necessarily coincide with TTL boundaries. The following rationale prompted a more specific designation of the particular tribal area of origin.

1. It is assumed that respondents will refer to a particular TTL as their rural home and any contacts with the rural area will be directed to this TTL. Findings from earlier research support this assumption, though townsmen are more likely to have a more flexible rural reference point than migrants due to domestic-age factors.⁴⁾
-
- 4) Visits to places other than the rural home of origin are referred to in the tables below and are by and large accounted for by the following factors:
1. Respondents have been subject to resettlement in the course of their lives.
 2. Visits to wives' homes, and business or pleasure trips are made. A large proportion of hostel dwellers are young and/or bachelors, hence the two factors above are less likely to affect their rural reference point.

Occasional visits*: destinations of visiting Rhodesian respondents in previous year		
destination	Hostels 1973 %	Mufakose 1973/74 %
own home	96,2	91,9
wife's home	1,9	5,2
friend's home	0,8	0,3
relative's home	0,8	1,3
somewhere else	0,2	1,3
	99,9 N=978 visits	100,0 N=383 visits

*Occasional visits as against regular visits are not subject to any particular frequency interval. It was assumed that all regular visits are directed to 'own home' destinations.

Mufakose 1973/74 Study: destinational pattern of rural visiting (Rhodesians)	
- visits' destination equal district of origin/ all visits have same destination	77,8%
- visits' destination do not equal district of origin/all visits have same destination	14,4%
- visits' destination do not equal district of origin/not all visits have same destination	0,7%
- some destinations equal district of origin/ not all visits have same destination	7,2%
	100,1%
	N=153 respondents

2. Given the assumption that the TTL of origin is the rural reference point, we would expect respondents originating from areas subject to greater population pressure to feel the rural 'push' more acutely and consequently to react more strongly to the urban 'pull'. Migrants who have few prospects for economic advancement due to population pressure in their home areas are more dependent on an urban cash income. In other words, the rural push derived from population pressure in the home area may act as an incentive for stabilization in town and increased urban commitment and involvement.

Working from Kay's (1975) population pressure map of Rhodesia, a population pressure index⁵⁾ is assigned to TTLs of origin. Approximately 80 per cent of all three samples originate from TTLs which are over-populated or grossly over-populated (cf. Table 6.3.).

Population pressure in Tribal Trust Land of origin			
Population pressure index*	Hostels %	Mufakose %	Kambuzuma %
1. under-populated	1,3	4,7	0,7
2. optimum population	7,3	7,3	4,0
3. over-populated	44,7	47,3	40,0
4. grossly over-populated	44,0	30,0	40,0
other area	-	2,7	4,0
not categorized	0,7	2,7	4,7
born in town	2,0	5,3	6,7
	100,0	100,0	100,0
	N = 150	N = 150	N = 150

* Source: G. Kay: Population Pressures and Development Prospects in Rhodesia, *The Rhodesia Science News*, Vol.9, No. 1, January 1975.
Map I: Rhodesia: Population Pressure on Land in Tribal Trust Lands 1969.

- 5) Kay's (1975) Map I: Population Pressure on Land in the Tribal Trust Lands 1969 is used as a basis for the analysis. On this map population density and agro-ecological region are combined to four indices of population pressure and drawn on a grid network over the Rhodesia Land Tenure Map. Individual Tribal Trust Lands are located on Kay's Map I and a weighted average population pressure index is assigned to each one. Unfortunately some smaller Tribal Trust Lands are situated outside the grid network and cannot be assigned an index. - I am grateful to Professor Kay for making the original map available to me before it went into print.

This proportion is comparable to Rhodesia's rural African population as a whole. Kay (1975:fig.6) estimates that some 83 per cent of the rural African population lived in 57 per cent of African land which was over-populated or grossly over-populated in 1969. Our survey findings suggest that the rural 'push' is generally effective and not felt to a greater extent by any particular urban group.

At the same time we observe from the lower half of Table 6.3 that fewer townsmen than migrants start life with an immediate reference point in the TTLs. Small percentages of townsmen were born outside the TTLs on White farms or mission stations or in town.

Conclusions: Distinct age differentials between the 1975 survey samples exist, which in effect will no doubt be registered in other variables decisive for social and residential mobility in town. The rural background of samples is similar, though a larger proportion of Kambuzuma respondents come from the more remote areas of Salisbury's hinterland. More townsmen than migrants have no immediate TTL reference point at birth.

CHAPTER 7.1975 SURVEY FINDINGS:
SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS DIFFERENTIALS.

According to our working hypothesis tenure status and socio-economic status are highly positively correlated. In order to test this hypothesis, we shall inspect the distributions on the variables income, education and occupation of respondents.

To a certain extent the postulated differential is implicitly included in the sample definitions. Hostel accommodation is made available to employers to house their seasonal labour. Urban workers in this job category are easily replaceable, turnover is high and remuneration will therefore be relatively low. As for Mufakose - in former days a means test was applied to persons intending to move into the older or core areas (Areas A to F). The newer areas (Areas H, J, G, Y, X) in Mufakose were considered austerity housing and the means test was dropped. Since the recent introduction of a rent rationalization scheme in 1970, rents are subsidized for monthly incomes below \$60. Forty-two per cent or 73 of 173 Rhodesian respondents in the 1973/74 survey were accorded rental subsidies. As in Mufakose, a means test was employed in former days to screen potential Kambuzuma residents. The means test applied to residents moving into Sections 1 and 2 (Vutabwarova, Chimanikire 1969:2). In Kambuzuma today, new tenants are expected to prove they have sufficient assets to pay their rent. Persons earning less than \$44 per month are granted a rebate on the service charge included in the rent.

Income: The income differentials between samples is striking (cf. Table 7.1). In the hostels half the sample respondents earn less than \$40 and only two persons earn between \$80 and \$90 per month. In Mufakose the median income per month is \$67, in Kambuzuma \$102.¹⁾ Median tests between samples confirm the significant differences (Hostels to Mufakose/Mufakose to Kambuzuma: chi squares = 95,1/27,9, 1 d.f., $p < .001$). The graph on Figure 12 illustrates this point.²⁾

-
- 1) By comparison the median income for Rhodesian hostel dwellers (N=343) in the 1973 survey was approximately \$31 per month, for Mufakose Rhodesian respondents (N=144) in the 1973/74 survey approximately \$47 per month. It is thought that these differences reflect an actual increase in wages in recent years and are not merely due to the unreliability of the survey data.
 - 2) By comparison the Poverty Datum Line income for a Salisbury urban family of six for January 1974 figures at \$73,52 per month. The PDL calculated for unmarried men in single accommodation in January and February 1974 is \$17,85 (Cubitt, Riddell 1974:116,118). The consumer price index for urban Africans on all items rose by 8,6 points between December 1973 and December 1974 (Monthly Digest of Statistics, Central Statistical Office, Salisbury 1975:16). If we were to attempt to up-date Cubitt and Riddell's PDL values for our own purposes by adding the 8,6 per cent consumer price index difference between December 1973 and 1974 onto the original values (fieldwork for the 1975 Study commenced in January 1975), we obtain a corrected 'family' PDL of \$79,84 per month and a 'single' PDL of \$19,39 per month.

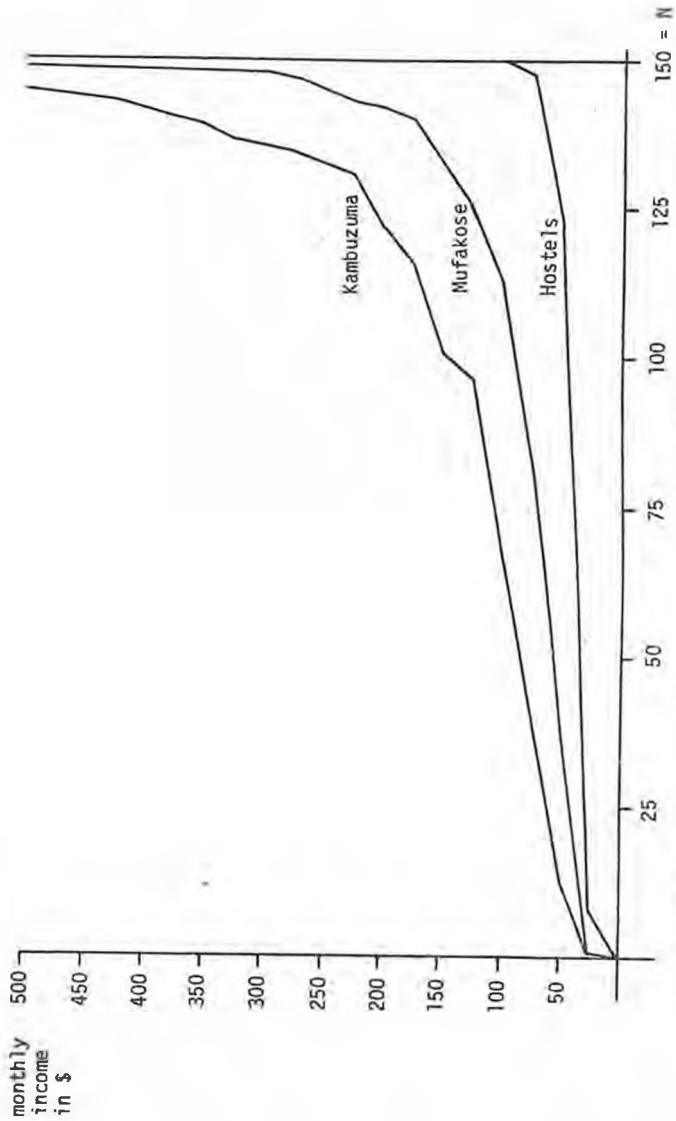


Figure 12 Income differentials between samples 1975 Study

Table 7.1. 1975 Study

Income				
income in \$	Hostels %	income in \$	Mufakose %	Kambuzuma %
-19	1,3	-24	0,7	0,7
20-24	4,0	25-49	24,0	8,0
25-29	6,0	50-74	29,3	19,3
30-34	22,7	75-99	21,3	16,7
35-39	14,0	100-124	8,7	20,0
40-44	21,3	125-149	4,7	2,7
45-49	12,0	150-174	4,7	10,0
50-54	7,3	175-199	1,3	4,0
55-59	0,7	200-224	0,7	6,0
60-64	6,7	225-249	1,3	-
65-69	1,3	250-274	1,3	2,7
70-74	1,3	275-299	0,7	-
75-79	-	300-324	-	1,3
80-84	0,7	325-349	-	2,0
85-89	0,7	350-374	-	0,7
	100,0	375-399	-	-
	N=150	400-425	-	2,0
		over 500	0,7	1,3
			99,4	97,4
non-response			0,7	2,7
			100,1	100,1
			N=150	N=150
median income	\$40	median income	\$67	\$102
mean income	\$41,1			

Educational standard: The majority of respondents in all samples have received a Standard four to Standard six education (cf. Table 7.2). The educational level increases significantly for each sample in the survey. The percentages of respondents with Secondary School education are 12,6, 20,0, 32,1 for the Hostels, Mufakose and Kambuzuma samples respectively.³⁾ Three Kambuzuma respondents hold University degrees. (Chi square for three educational categories: all samples = 23,6, 4 d.f., $p < .001$; Mufakose and Kambuzuma samples = 11,6, 2 d.f., $p < .01$).

3) By comparison 12,3 per cent (N= 358) of the 1973 Hostels sample and 15,6 per cent (N= 173) of the 1973/74 Mufakose sample had received some post-primary education.

Analogously, significant differences in the educational levels of Mufakose and Kambuzuma wives are found. Ten, seven per cent of Mufakose as against 20,1 per cent of Kambuzuma wives have been to Secondary School.

Table 7.2. 1975 Study					
Educational standard achieved by respondent				by wife	
standard	Hostels %	Mufakose %	Kambuzuma %	Mufakose %	Kambuzuma %
no schooling	1,3	1,3	2,7	2,0	1,3
Sub A, B/Grd. 1-2	1,3	4,0	1,3	3,3	1,3
Std. 1-3/Grd. 3-5	24,0	19,3	7,3	32,7	23,3
Std. 4-6/Grd. 6-7	60,7	55,3	56,7	50,7	52,7
Form 1-2, Junior Certificate	9,3	14,0	14,7	10,0	12,7
Form 3-4, O-level	3,3	4,7	12,7	0,7	6,7
Form 5-6, M/A-level	-	1,3	2,7	-	0,7
University, higher degree	-	-	2,0	-	-
no information	99,9 N=150	99,9 N=150	100,1 N=150	0,7 100,1 N=150	1,3 100,0 N=150

Children attending boarding school: A slightly higher proportion of Kambuzuma than Mufakose respondents send their children to boarding school (chi square = 5,1, 1 d.f., $p < .05$) (cf. Table 7.3). This may reflect income differences between samples, but also the genuine belief in the instrumentality of education for social mobility.

Table 7.3. 1975 Study		
Children attending boarding school		
	Mufakose %	Kambuzuma %
yes	24,7	36,7
no	75,3	63,3
	100,0 N=150	100,0 N=150

Occupation: The occupations of respondents are grouped into two discrete categories of white and blue collar occupations. The former category includes mostly clerical, sales, technical and professional workers; the latter mainly unskilled, manual workers up to the artisan level. The categories of self-employed and unemployed were introduced to cope with borderline cases. The existence of a highly developed informal African employment sector in the urban economy often makes it difficult to distinguish between these two categories.

The proportion of white collar workers rises significantly from 2,7 per cent in the Hostels sample to 31,3 per cent in the Mufakose and 43,3 per cent in the Kambuzuma sample (cf. Table 7.4). The number of self-employed is 5 in both township samples. The differences in the number of unemployed meets expectations. Greater security in town affords the Kambuzuma man more flexibility when he loses his urban employment or chooses to give it up (we shall discuss this point in greater detail under the heading urban commitment). One or two Kambuzuma respondents gave the appearance of being semi-retired to their farms in the rural areas.

Table 7.4. 1975 Study				of wife	
Occupation of respondent				Mufakose	Kambuzuma
occupational type	Hostels %	Mufakose %	Kambuzuma %	%	%
blue collar*	97,3	64,7	50,0	1,3	6,0
white collar	2,7	31,3	43,3	6,0	14,0
self-employed	-	3,3	-	-	-
home-worker	-	-	-	3,3	4,7
unemployed	-	0,7	3,3	89,3	75,3
	100,0	100,0	99,9	99,9	100,0
	N=150	N=150	N=150	N=150	N=150

* includes skilled workers

The majority of townsmen's wives are not employed. More Kambuzuma wives are employed and a greater proportion hold white collar positions, mostly as nurses or teachers. An equally small number of wives in both township samples engage in some work at home such as sewing or knitting for an extra income.

The occupation of the wife is closely related to such factors as education and spouse's socio-economic status. It appears that the skills of an above average educated wife are not allowed to go to waste. Of the 30 wives with post-primary education in Kambuzuma, 8 are unemployed, 4 are blue collar and 18 are white collar workers. In Mufakose of 16 wives with post-primary education, 11 are unemployed and 5 are white collar workers. The husband tends to earn an above

average income when the wife works as a white collar employee (see Table 7.5). In Mufakose white collar wives are married to white collar (6) or self-employed (3) husbands. In Kambuzuma white collar wives are chiefly married to white collar husbands (16).

Table 7.5. 1975 Study

Wife's occupation by income

Respondent's income per month in \$	Mufakose wife is white	Kambuzuma white collar worker
- 49	1	-
50- 99	1	2
100-149	2	5
150-199	3	3
200-299	-	2
300+	2	9
	9	21

Occupation by income: Income in all samples tends to vary according to the type of occupation engaged in (cf. Table 7.6). White collar workers are in the higher income brackets in the Hostels sample.

Table 7.6. 1975 Study

Occupation by income

income in \$	Hostels blue collar	white collar	Mufakose* blue collar+	white collar	Kambuzuma* blue collar+	white collar
	%	%	%	%	%	%
- 49	80,7	0,7	33,0	6,5	14,9	1,6
50- 99	16,7	2,0	55,7	47,8	51,4	21,9
100-149	-	-	6,2	28,3	14,9	32,8
150-199	-	-	3,1	10,9	12,2	18,8
200-249	-	-	-	4,4	4,1	7,8
250-299	-	-	2,1	2,2	1,4	7,7
300+	-	-	-	-	1,4	12,5
	97,4	2,7	100,1	100,1	100,3	100,1
median income**	40	55	60	94	82	123
	N=150		N=97	N=46	N=74	N=64

* Self-employed and unemployed respondents are excluded. In Mufakose and Kambuzuma 4 of 5 respectively self-employed respondents report incomes over \$100 per month. In Kambuzuma 2 of these respondents report monthly incomes well over \$300.

+ Blue collar workers earning above average incomes tend to be skilled in their respective occupations. A skilled worker category was not included for technical reasons.

** Approximation through interpolation.

In Mufakose 45,8 per cent of white collar workers and 11,4 per cent of blue collar workers are earning more than \$100 per month, in Kambuzuma the comparative figures are 76,6 per cent white collar workers and 34,0 per cent blue collar workers. The majority of blue collar workers earning high salaries will be skilled workers, most likely artisans or contractors in the building sector. A large number of drivers, especially long distance drivers, might also fall into this category. Many of these skills may have been acquired through long experience and on the job training; some respondents have gone through some specific vocational training.

Occupation by educational standard: White collar workers in all three samples tend to have attained higher levels of formal education than blue collar workers. The educational standard of white collar workers increases systematically from the Mufakose to the Kambuzuma sample. Thirty-eight, four per cent and 50,9 per cent in the respective samples have received secondary or higher education.

Table 7.7. 1975 Study

Occupation by educational standard

standard	Hostels		Mufakose*		Kambuzuma**	
	blue collar	white collar	blue collar	white collar	blue collar	white collar
	%	%	%	%	%	%
no schooling	1,3	-	2,1	-	4,0	1,5
Sub A, 8/Grd. 1-2	1,3	-	6,2	-	1,3	1,5
Std. 1-3/Grd. 3-5	24,0	-	28,9	2,1	13,3	1,5
Std. 4-6/Grd. 6-7	60,0	0,7	52,6	59,6	62,7	44,6
Form 1-2, J.C.	8,7	0,7	9,3	21,3	16,0	15,4
Form 3-4, O-level	2,0	1,3	1,0	12,8	2,7	26,2
Form 5-6, M/A-level	-	-	-	4,3	-	6,2
University degree	-	-	-	-	-	3,1
	97,3	2,7	100,0	100,1	100,0	100,0
	N=150		N=97	N=47	N=75	N=65

* 5 unemployed and 1 self-employed Mufakose respondents have achieved Std. 4-6 (4) and Form 1-2 (2) educational standards.
 ** 5 unemployed and 4 self-employed Kambuzuma respondents have achieved Std. 4-6 educational level, 1 self-employed respondent has university level education.

Life Goals: In addition to the objective assessment of socio-economic differentials, a subjective measure of differences in aspiration was made. Respondents were requested to state their life goals in an open-ended question towards the end of the interview session. Their responses were later categorized as 'modern' or 'traditional' type goals.

'Modern' is used to denote

1. a goal which can only be achieved in the context of what is commonly referred to as a western industrial type society (which is partially synonymous with an urban society).
2. a goal which can only be achieved by means of the society above.

Whereas the type 1 goal is actually achieved *within* a modern society, the modern society is only instrumental in achieving the type 2 goal. An example of the first type goal is given by a migrant labourer wishing to acquire sufficient technical skill to hold down a well paid job in industry. The aspiration to earn sufficient money in town to purchase farm equipment to use at the rural homestead constitutes a type 2 goal.

The overview Table 7.8 clearly shows that the majority of respondents in all samples envisage a modern type life goal. With the dispersion of the cash economy even to the remotest tribal areas, this type of response would be expected from persons living and working in town. There is a slight trend toward increasing modernity regarding life goals from the Hostels, through the Mufakose to the Kambuzuma sample.

<u>Life goals</u>			
"What do you want to achieve most in life?" ⁴⁾			
type of goal	Hostels %	Mufakose %	Kambuzuma %
modern	60,0	64,0	73,3
traditional	17,3	20,0	6,0
both	21,3	8,7	14,7
not applicable	1,3	6,7	5,3
	99,9	99,4	99,3
non-response		0,7	0,7
	N=150	N=150	N=150

4) In order to avoid ambiguity and the inconvenience of having to refer to the original questionnaire schedule, the pertinent question will be given with each variable heading. Thus, the effect of phrasing and rephrasing in successive surveys can be assessed by the reader at a glance.

Table 7.9. 1975 Study

Life goals

"What do you want to achieve most in life?"

Hostels:			
detail response category	%		
business	18,0		
emphasis on home and family	16,0		
emphasis on home, house	13,3		
farm	10,7		
provide children with education	8,7		
personal or career achievement	7,3		
quality of life	7,3		
wealth	4,7		
security	2,7		
cattle	2,7		
consumer goods	2,0		
emphasis on home and children's education	2,0		
cash crops	1,3		
provide for children's upbringing	1,3		
education	1,3		
ideological aim	0,7		
	100,0		
	N=150		
Townships:		Mufakose	Kambuzuma
detail response category	%		%
provide children with education	15,3	18,7	
business	12,7	15,3	
farm inclusive farm implements	14,0	10,7	
cattle and rural property	19,3	4,0	
liquid wealth	13,3	8,7	
personal or career achievement	1,3	12,0	
emphasis on home and family	5,3	6,7	
quality of life	3,3	4,7	
ideological, religious aim	4,0	4,0	
security	0,7	3,3	
emphasis on home, house	1,3	2,7	
educate children/business or farm	2,0	1,3	
cash crops or irrigation scheme	1,3	2,0	
consumer goods	1,3	2,0	
provide for children's upbringing, security	1,3	-	
house/business	0,7	0,7	
no decision	2,7	3,3	
	99,8	100,1	
	N=150	N=150	

The more detailed list of goals in Table 7.9 shows up the substantial differences between the three samples. In all three groups business aspirations are eminent. Hostels respondents tend to limit their aspirations to simple types of business enterprises requiring little capital, and few technical or commercial skills. Only rural business enterprises are envisaged, the most popular being a mill. The business aspirations of Mufakose and Kambuzuma respondents are not confined to the rural areas, but awareness of the stiff competition in town and limited security makes the rural business a more viable proposition in the eyes of many under present conditions.

The aspiration to own a farm is also pronounced in all samples. This usually implies that the respondent wishes to buy a farm in an African Purchase Area, but some respondents were not specific about particulars. Whatever the circumstances, the farm goal does mark a trend to turn away from pure subsistence farming.

Hostel dwellers more often than townsmen state that they wish to provide a good home for their families and live a good 'home' life. For many this includes building a house in the rural areas.

With townsmen, giving children a good education figures at the top of the life goals list. With hostel dwellers the children's education is often subsumed under more general headings of provision for family needs.

A greater proportion of Mufakose respondents aspire to wealth in the rural areas in the form of cattle and rural property. Personal or career achievement is important for many Kambuzuma respondents. It is interesting to note that material wealth as such is mentioned by few respondents. Money is usually referred to as a means to providing security for the family, very often in the form of rural property or cattle.

Conclusions: After reviewing the data referring to socio-economic status in the 1975 survey, we can state that the three samples represent three different populations in respect of income, education and type of occupation. These variables are highly and consistently related to each other. The socio-economic status of hostels, rented and purchase accommodation representatives increases progressively in the postulated direction. The working hypothesis that socio-economic status and tenure status are positively correlated will therefore be retained. Some overlap at the lower end of the income and education gradients exists. Despite differences in socio-economic background most respondents see ample room for social betterment and aspire to goals which can only be achieved by participation in a money economy.

Table 7.9. 1975 Study

Life goals

"What do you want to achieve most in life?"

Hostels:

detail response category	%
business	18,0
emphasis on home and family	16,0
emphasis on home, house	13,3
farm	10,7
provide children with education	8,7
personal or career achievement	7,3
quality of life	7,3
wealth	4,7
security	2,7
cattle	2,7
consumer goods	2,0
emphasis on home and children's education	2,0
cash crops	1,3
provide for children's upbringing	1,3
education	1,3
ideological aim	0,7

100,0
N=150

Townships:

detail response category	Mufakose %	Kambuzuma %
provide children with education	15,3	18,7
business	12,7	15,3
farm inclusive farm implements	14,0	10,7
cattle and rural property	19,3	4,0
liquid wealth	13,3	8,7
personal or career achievement	1,3	12,0
emphasis on home and family	5,3	6,7
quality of life	3,3	4,7
ideological, religious aim	4,0	4,0
security	0,7	3,3
emphasis on home, house	1,3	2,7
educate children/business or farm	2,0	1,3
cash crops or irrigation scheme	1,3	2,0
consumer goods	1,3	2,0
provide for children's upbringing, security	1,3	-
house/business	0,7	0,7
no decision	2,7	3,3
	99,8 N=150	100,1 N=150

The more detailed list of goals in Table 7.9 shows up the substantial differences between the three samples. In all three groups business aspirations are eminent. Hostels respondents tend to limit their aspirations to simple types of business enterprises requiring little capital, and few technical or commercial skills. Only rural business enterprises are envisaged, the most popular being a mill. The business aspirations of Mufakose and Kambuzuma respondents are not confined to the rural areas, but awareness of the stiff competition in town and limited security makes the rural business a more viable proposition in the eyes of many under present conditions.

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Conclusions: After reviewing the data referring to socio-economic status in the 1975 survey, we can state that the three samples represent three different populations in respect of income, education and type of occupation. These variables are highly and consistently related to each other. The socio-economic status of hostels, rented and purchase accommodation representatives increases progressively in the postulated direction. The working hypothesis that socio-economic status and tenure status are positively correlated will therefore be retained. Some overlap at the lower end of the income and education gradients exists. Despite differences in socio-economic background most respondents see ample room for social betterment and aspire to goals which can only be achieved by participation in a money economy.

CHAPTER 8.

1975 SURVEY FINDINGS: FAMILY
STATUS DIFFERENTIALS.

Family status is used to subsume various personal attributes relating to marital status and the family situation of respondents. As such, family status is relevant to urbanization chiefly through stabilization factors. Family status divides into two major groups:

- 1) domestic-age (age plus marital status) which is regarded as the chief determinant of attitudes and behaviour in terms of life-cycle theory, and
- 2) composition of the urban household, in the sense that the domicile of the respondent's wife and children in town indicate individual stabilization. It may be argued that a man who has his immediate and possibly extended family living in town is more likely to be involved in an urban social network and orient his interests toward town affairs.

Domestic-age is partially implicit in the tenure definition: only married men can apply for township accommodation. In turn, higher tenure status, that is family accommodation, is a requisite for bringing one's wife and children to live in town. In Chapter 4 it was noted that there may be a tendency for urban family sizes to increase with urban wages, because a man will only bring his family to town when he can afford it. It is therefore hypothesized that with increasing domestic-age, tenure and economic status urban workers tend to bring their wives and children to live with them in town at an increasing rate. - We shall test this hypothesis by reviewing factors concerning marital status and the urban household composition of 1975 Survey respondents.

Marital status: Fifty-five, three per cent of the Hostels respondents are married, 42,0 per cent are single and a small minority are widowed or divorced (2,7%).¹⁾ All respondents in Mufakose and Kambuzuma are married, this being one of the criteria for inclusion in the townships samples.

Marriage type: A marriage document is a prerequisite to obtaining married accommodation in Municipal townships such as Mufakose. In Kambuzuma, a former Government township, this regulation was apparently relaxed shortly after the inception of the township. This is reflected

1) These figures corroborate earlier findings : in the 1973 Survey 57,8 per cent of the Rhodesian hostel dwellers were married men (N = 358).

in the figures contained in Table 8.1: 100,0 per cent of Mufakose respondents and 96,6 per cent of Kambuzuma respondents report the possession of a marriage certificate. It is interesting to note that the number of christian marriages is somewhat higher in Mufakose than in Kambuzuma. In the hostels, only approximately one-third of married respondents have a marriage document which would make them eligible for family accommodation in townships.²⁾

Table 8.1. 1975 Study

Marriage type			
marriage type	Hostels %	Mufakose %	Kambuzuma %
traditional	65,5	-	3,3
traditional registered	21,8	63,3	73,3
christian	12,6	36,7	23,3
	99,9	100,0	99,9
	N = 87	N = 150	N = 150

Marriage duration: Half of the married respondents have been married 7, 17 and 12 years or more in the Hostels, Mufakose and Kambuzuma samples respectively (cf. Table 8.2).³⁾ These figures are consistent with the age differentials between samples.

Children of respondents: The number of children reported by the members of the three samples meet expectations when domestic-age differences between samples are borne in mind (cf. Table 8.3).⁴⁾

- 2) Similarly, 30,3 (excluding 1,4 divorced or widowed) of married Rhodesian hostel dwellers in the 1973 Survey were eligible for township accommodation according to marriage type. In the 1973/74 Mufakose Survey 59,5 per cent had registered their marriage and 39,3 per cent had been married according to christian rites.
- 3) Considering the lapse of time between surveys the median marriage duration of 15 years obtained for the 1973/74 Mufakose sample compares favourably with the 1975 findings.
- 4) Five children is the median number children reported for the 1973/74 Mufakose sample.

Table 8.2. 1975 Study

Marriage duration (all marriages)

years	Hostels %	Mufakose %	Kambuzuma %
0 - 4	42,5	2,7	4,0
5 - 9	17,2	12,0	24,0
10 - 14	19,5	16,0	32,0
15 - 19	9,2	35,3	22,0
20 - 24	6,9	18,7	14,7
25 - 29	2,3	10,0	3,3
30 - 34	1,1	4,0	-
35 - 39	1,1	1,3	-
	99,8	100,0	100,0
	N = 87	N = 150	N = 150
mean	8,9	17,4	13,5
median	7	17	12

Table 8.3. 1975 Study

Children of respondents (married respondents only, children from all marriages)

number children	Hostels %	Mufakose %	Kambuzuma %
0	18,4	-	0,7
1	17,2	2,0	2,7
2	16,1	8,0	8,7
3	5,7	9,3	16,0
4	13,8	15,3	22,0
5	10,3	19,3	22,7
6	9,2	16,0	14,0
7	4,6	12,0	6,7
8	2,3	5,3	4,0
9	2,3	7,3	0,7
10	-	2,7	1,3
11	-	0,7	0,7
12	-	0,7	-
13	-	0,7	-
18	-	0,7	-
	99,9	100,0	100,2
	N = 87	N = 150	N = 150
mean	3,0	5,6	4,6
median	2	5	4

Household size: Estimating family and household sizes in African townships is extremely difficult. Due to the constant movement of family members between town and country only parameters based on a year-round record are feasible. In the Mufakose 1973/74 Survey such family mobility records were compiled. No direct attempt was undertaken to estimate the urban family size in the 1975 Survey; instead, a household record was compiled for each dwelling unit in the townships samples. The median household size is 6 in Mufakose and 7 in Kambuzuma (cf. Table 8.4).⁵⁾

According to domestic-age differentials between samples a higher family mean would be expected for the Mufakose sample. It is suggested that the higher household mean in Kambuzuma is due to the inclusion of a higher proportion of non-family members, such as lodgers, who are not permitted as such in Mufakose. The household composition assessed for the townships samples supports this hypothesis.

Household size (Townships)		
number persons	Mufakose %	Kambuzuma %
1	-	0,7
2	5,3	1,3
3	6,0	5,3
4	10,7	7,3
5	18,0	14,7
6	13,3	16,7
7	16,0	14,7
8	10,7	19,3
9	8,0	10,0
10	5,3	3,3
11	4,7	3,3
12	-	1,3
13	1,3	1,3
14	0,7	0,7
	100,0	99,9
	N = 150	N = 150
mean	6,4	6,8
median	6	7

Household composition: When the average number of non-family members are deducted from household averages, Kambuzuma family sizes appear to be smaller than their Mufakose counterparts (cf. Table 8.5).

- 5) By comparison the Mufakose 1973/74 Study reports a median Rhodesian family size of six. - Cubitt and Riddell (1974:54-5) base their computation of the minimum consumption needs for Salisbury urban Africans on the typical family of six. - Kambuzuma figures with 5,2 persons in 1970-71 on Schlemmer and Stopforth's (1974:16) listing of family sizes in Southern Africa.

The chief distinction between Mufakose and Kambuzuma household composition, which accounts for numerical differences, can be attributed to the higher incidence of relatives, lodgers or 'permanent' visitors residing in Kambuzuma households (cf. Table 8.6). Half of the Kambuzuma homes shelter one or more persons in this category; less than half of the Mufakose households do so. Consistent with township regulations lodgers are predominant in the non-family adult category in Kambuzuma households, whereas it is relatives who swell the household size in Mufakose. The incidence of wives⁶⁾ and children with urban domicile is similar in both samples (cf. Table 8.7).

Table 8.5. 1975 Study

Derived urban family size (Townships)	Mufakose	Kambuzuma
	%	%
household mean	6,4	6,8
minus mean non-family household members	-1,1	-1,9
derived mean immediate family size	5,3	4,9

The number of households which include some kind of household help, usually a 'nanny', is significantly higher in Kambuzuma than in Mufakose (chi square = 14,58,1 d.f., $p < .001$).

- 6) In order to achieve a more accurate assessment of the wife's presence in town, the respondent's response to household composition was compared with his version of his wife's rural visiting pattern. Gross inconsistencies are entered into the household composition table. Approximately 10 per cent is the estimate of additional out-of-town wives when inconsistencies are recorded. Some of the discrepancies regarding the wife's domicile might occur through sudden change of residence, for instance in the case of pregnancy or the removal of the rural homestead to protected villages. Moreover, the household composition was often perceived as being more closely related to the situation at the precise interview date, whereas the visiting pattern relates to the one year period prior to the interview date.

Although residents in both townships are urged to keep their wives in town, and tenants are asked to inform the township administration if household members are away for any length of time, it would be expected that Mufakose tenants would be less willing to disclose their wives' absences than Kambuzuma home owners, the latter being generally subject to less supervision. This is not the case as figures in all the categories on Table 8.7 are remarkably similar for both township samples.

Table 8.6. 1975 Study

Weighted incidence of 'other' adults residing in urban household

	Mufakose	Kambuzuma
lodgers	6,3	47,3
relatives	33,0	14,7
visitors or unknown	2,0	9,3
nil	58,7	28,7
	100,0	100,0

Family type: The urban family type, assessed from the reported urban domicile of wife and children, is given in Table 8.8.⁷⁾

The distribution of family types are very similar in both townships.⁸⁾ Approximately 75 per cent of the townsmen in both the Mufakose and Kambuzuma samples can be said to be living a 'family' life in town by our survey standards (i.e. referring to elementary and elementary enlarged family types).

In the Mufakose 1973/74 report (Møller 1974c:36ff., Appendix Tables 22, 25) the point was made, that in Rhodesian households the family size would increase from an average 5,9⁹⁾ to 7,5 persons if all members resided in town.

- 7) It will be noted that the cross reference of 'household composition' and 'wife's rural visiting pattern' should result in interdependence of the two variables 'family type' and 'wife's rural visiting pattern'. - May's (1973:10) distinction between the categories 'rurally based', 'town based', 'seasonal visiting' under the heading 'wife's domicile' comes very close to combining these two variables to a joint one.
- 8) The Mufakose 1975 findings regarding family types are somewhat at variance with the 1973/74 findings regarding Rhodesian family structures. The 1973/74 distribution of family structures is elementary (68,4%), elementary enlarged (11,5%), single spouse male (10,3%), polygamous (1,7%), related people living together (1,7%), no family structure (6,3%), N = 174. Deviance of the 1975 from the 1973/74 findings is due to the exclusion of single men from the 1975 sample and the incorporation of 'polygamous' family structures into 'elementary' or 'elementary enlarged' ones. By introducing the 'effectively fragmented' category the proportion of 'elementary' families is cut down substantially. By specifically enquiring after 'other' adults and children living in the household, the number of 'elementary enlarged' type families is considerably increased.
- 9) Adjusted to exclude alien survey respondents.

The chief distinction between Mufakose and Kambuzuma household composition, which accounts for numerical differences, can be attributed to the higher incidence of relatives, lodgers or 'permanent' visitors residing in Kambuzuma households (cf. Table 8.6). Half of the Kambuzuma homes shelter one or more persons in this category; less than half of the Mufakose households do so. Consistent with township regulations lodgers are predominant in the non-family adult category in Kambuzuma households, whereas it is relatives who swell the household size in Mufakose. The incidence of wives⁶⁾ and children with urban domicile is similar in both samples (cf. Table 8.7).

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- 9) Adjusted to exclude alien survey respondents.

Table 8.7. 1975 Study				
Household composition (Townships)				
"Who normally lives in this house?"				
persons residing in household:			Mufakose	Kambuzuma
wife			%	%
- wife living in town			73,3	74,0
- two wives living in town			1,3	-
- wife not living in town according to respondent			12,0	11,3
- wife living in town according to respondent, but living in rural areas according to visiting pattern			10,7	10,7
- wife living in town according to visiting pattern, in rural areas according to respondent			2,7	4,0
own children			100,0	100,0
			%	%
			0	11,3
			1	9,3
			2	15,3
			3	14,7
			4	16,7
			5	12,0
mean	3,5	3,2	6	8,7
median	3	3	7	7,3
			8	2,0
			9	2,7
			10	-
				0,7
other children			100,0	100,0
			%	%
			0	84,7
			1	6,7
mean	0,3	0,3	2	5,3
median	0	0	3	3,3
			4	-
				1,3
household help or nanny			100,0	99,9
			%	%
mean	0,1	0,2	0	94,7
median	0	0	1	5,3
				20,0
			100,0	100,0

Continued

other relatives, lodgers, visitors			Mufakose %	Kambuzuma %
		0	60,0	31,3
	Mufakose	1	22,7	20,0
mean	0,7	1,4	9,3	34,0
		2	5,3	11,3
median	0	1	2,0	3,3
		4	0,7	-
		5		
			100,0	99,9
			N = 150	N = 150

Family type (Townships)		
According to composition of family members living in household		
family type	Mufakose %	Kambuzuma %
fragmented	9,3	11,3
effectively fragmented	10,7	10,0
related persons	5,3	4,7
elementary	47,3	51,3
elementary enlarged	27,3	22,7
	99,9	100,0
	N = 150	N = 150
notes:		
<u>fragmented:</u> male spouse plus one or more child/ren.		
<u>effectively fragmented:</u> female spouse believed to be absent.		
<u>related persons:</u> male spouse plus relative(s) other than own children.		
<u>elementary:</u> nuclear family plus one or more relatives.		
Polygamous families are not recorded in the typology above.		

It was also suggested that some households might find it more economically viable to utilize scarce urban accommodation space by substituting adult wage earners for their registered children in their homes. In the present survey an average of 2,1 children of the Mufakose and 1,4 children of the Kambuzuma respondents are not included in the urban household.

This would bring the derived mean immediate family size to 7,4 in Mufakose and 6,3 persons in Kambuzuma.¹⁰⁾

It was also discovered that the greatest discrepancy between the total number of the respondent's own children and the number of his own children living in town was to be found in the 'zero-children' urban household. With 17 cases in the Mufakose and 20 cases in the Kambuzuma sample, the incidence of this type of urban household is by no means negligible. A deviant case analysis was undertaken for these 'zero-children' households.¹¹⁾ In the majority of cases economic necessity appeared to dictate family separation. In the remaining cases definite economic advantages were frequently derived from leaving children in the rural areas. The proposition made in the 1973/74 Study that urban accommodation space vacated by wife and children is most probably utilized by contributors to the urban family income is therefore supported by the 1975 Study findings.

10) Compare Stopforth's (1971:9ff.) discussion of family structure and its distribution among types of dwelling units (1971:13) for a Highfield survey sample.

11) A clear-cut pattern emerges for Kambuzuma 'zero-children' urban households, the characteristics being: below average income, wife predominantly residing in the rural area with the children, an above average number of children, an above average number of lodgers. - At first glance the 'zero-children' urban household pattern is less consistent in Mufakose. Only 8 of the 17 cases have below average incomes. Bearing in mind that a vast income differential between the two survey townships exists, virtually all cases are below the Kambuzuma income median. The chief pattern characteristics for Mufakose are: wife predominantly residing in the rural area with the children, lodgers or adult relatives living in the urban household (usually illegally). The house size, gauged by number of bedrooms, is average in most cases and family sizes vary greatly.

High income earners among the 'zero-children' urban household heads in Kambuzuma tend to have children in boarding schools. - Of the four high income earners in Mufakose: one respondent is particularly rurally oriented and prefers to keep his family in the country although he is forced to stay in town for occupational reasons. Another respondent has both his two children at boarding school. A third owns a Purchase Area farm and keeps his family there. Three of the eleven children go to boarding school. The fourth case follows the general pattern described above.

Conclusions: The hypothesis that the urban domicile of wife and children is determined by the factors domestic-age, tenure and economic status is weakly supported by the 1975 Study findings. In the hostels one-third of the sample fulfill the necessary requirements regarding marital status, which will allow them to bring wife and children to town, thus achieving higher tenure status. In Mufakose and Kambuzuma roughly equal proportions (75%) can be said to effectively have wife and children in town with them. Both 1973/74 Mufakose findings and 1975 Townships findings suggest that economic factors dictate the composition of urban households. It is concluded that family status differentials between Mufakose and Kambuzuma are very low, though it is estimated that a slightly higher proportion of Kambuzuma children may have effective urban domicile.

CHAPTER 9.1975 SURVEY FINDINGS:
RESIDENTIAL STATUS DIFFERENTIALS AND RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY.

The most general proposition guiding the enquiry into the residential history of urban workers is that *family and socio-economic status determine tenure status, to the effect that a rise in family status (domestic-age) and socio-economic status leads to a rise in tenure status.* For purposes of this study tenure status is subdivided into actual and aspired tenure mobility. The inclusion of aspired tenure mobility increases the possible range of observations. This is particularly important in the study context in which external determinants play a decisive role in limiting actual mobility (cf. Chapter 3). Yet another possibility for the expansion of the range of observation items is given by examining residential status defined as an extension of the tenure concept. Residential status may be considered a lower-level concept which covers a multitude of accommodational aspects, whereas tenure focusses on the one lease aspect.

Consistent with the contextual conditions set out in Chapter 3, urban accommodation fulfills at least two functions for the temporary urban worker in the quasi-stabilization phase of urbanization.

- 1) It legitimizes urban presence (this function is analogous to that of holding a job in the economic sphere).
- 2) It affords urban security.

It is proposed that with rising residential status these two functions will be fulfilled to a higher degree.¹⁾ It is also suggested, that in time, African residential distribution may become an expression of social prestige as in other urban societies. In Salisbury this may be a more recent development and indicate the emergence of a specific urban class structure.²⁾

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- 1) The lower limits of residential status are determined by the external local conditions. Sub-standard accommodation such as squatting and outdoor sleeping are illegal and therefore do not fulfill the first functional requirement.
 - 2) Compare Kileff's description of Salisbury African elites (1971;1975), also Stopforth's (1973a,b) comparison of socio-economic status and attitude differentials between Highfield and Chitepo Road (a Highfield subsection) residents.

When defining ranks on the residential status line, a two-dimensional measurement is adopted; the criteria selected are *accommodation space and security of tenure*. It is believed that accommodation units affording space and security of tenure are considered more socially desirable by urban African standards.³⁾ Implicit in this two-dimensional classification scheme is a time dimension. During the normal life-cycle an individual will marry and have a family of procreation and consequently his spatial needs will increase. One might also contend that his need for security increases correspondingly, when he assumes responsibility for shelter, not only for himself, but also for his family. It is therefore proposed that, in order to meet an urban African's accommodation needs during the course of a working lifetime, an allowance for some residential mobility along the two dimensions of accommodation space and security of tenure must be made.

According to this yardstick, purchase family accommodation is regarded as superior to rented family or single housing along the security dimension. Persons occupying rented housing must at all times be employed in town, whereas home owners may continue to live in their urban homes regardless of their place of employment. The spatial dimension is less relevant here because it is more flexible in purchase housing than in rented housing due to extension and alteration possibilities in the former. Accommodation on employers' premises is put into the most inferior category due to the limited space and security offered. Kia accommodation is usually offered to workers in the domestic sector. It is employment-tied and therefore relatively insecure due to the minimal formal protection of domestic sector workers (cf. Clarke 1974a). Space is limited and usually only single accommodation is offered.

The correlation of socio-economic status and tenure has been effectively demonstrated in Chapter 7. In this chapter we shall focus on the domestic-age or life-cycle factors and their effect on residential mobility. We shall endeavour to show that

- 1) residential mobility is predominantly of the upward mobility type - as defined in the manner above - both *within* and *between* tenure groups.
- 2) upward mobility is reflected in residential mobility *behaviour* and/or *aspirations*.

Residential status parameters: Within each tenure group variance on a number of parameters was assessed. The location of accommodation units occupied by 1975 survey respondents is given in Table 9.1, the distribution of accommodation types in Table 9.2, the incidence of electricity in homes in Table 9.3.

-
- 3) Further criteria such as electricity, centrality and finish aspects might have been adopted as critical dimensions. They are considered less important than the space and security of tenure dimensions.

Table 9.1. 1975 Study

Residential distribution

Hostels Hostel complex		Mufakose				Kambuzuma	
	%	area	%	area	%	section	%
Harare	12,0	'lit' or core area	54,0	A	4,7	1	14,0
Matapi	27,3			B	7,3	2	14,0
Mbare	14,7			C	9,3	3	22,0
Nenyere	26,7			D	12,7	4	13,3
Shawasha	19,3			E	10,7	5	20,7
				F	9,3	6	16,0
total	100,0 N = 150	'dark' or new area	46,0	H	9,3		100,0 N = 150
				G	13,3		
				J	10,0		
				Y	7,3		
				X	6,0		
			100,0		99,9		
					N = 150		

Table 9.2. 1975 Study

Accommodation type (Townships)

Mufakose house size		Kambuzuma extension to core unit	
	%		%
1 bedroom	13,3	no extension	6,7
2 bedroom	62,7	partion extension	17,3
3 bedroom	22,7	full extension	76,0
4 bedroom	1,3		
	100,0 N = 150		100,0 N = 150

Table 9.3. 1975 Study

Electricity in home (Townships)

"Do you have electricity installed in your home?"

supply	Mufakose %	Kambuzuma %
no electricity supply	44,0	51,3
limited supply	54,7	22,7
unlimited supply	1,3	26,0
	100,0 N = 150	100,0 N = 150

Differential residential status within tenure groups according to location of accommodation unit is expected as follows:

Hostels: no differential⁴⁾

Mufakose: great differential, core areas versus new areas.

Kambuzuma: small differential, older sections 1,2,3 versus newer sections 4,5,6.

In the Mufakose residential distribution the core areas (A to F) are expectedly over-represented in respect of Mufakose housing capacity due to the larger number of Rhodesians residing in this area. Comparative

4) The sample distribution over hostel complexes is similar to the distribution of bed capacity in complexes (chi square = 2,1, 4 d.f., $p < .80$). Although the complexes differ in size and age, the set-up is very much the same in each complex. A control was made for the influence of hostel complex and no very significant findings were made with one exception. Mbare hostel dwellers, who are almost exclusively Municipal employees tend to exhibit a stronger rural orientation than other hostel dwellers. This might be explained by the fact that although Municipal employees are more likely to obtain township accommodation than other urban workers, Mbare occupants have not availed themselves of this advantage (a higher position in the Municipal hierarchy is possibly requisite as well). A strong rural orientation may act as an effective deterrent to moving from hostel accommodation and be especially characteristic of Mbare occupants.

statistics are however not available. The older core areas of Mufakose are superior to the newer areas (H,G,J,Y,X) in the following instances: Core areas are electrified and houses of different sizes are available (including all larger Mufakose houses).⁵⁾ Furthermore Mufakose shopping centres and other amenities are distance-wise more easily accessible to core area residents (cf. Møller 1974c: Chapter 3). We shall discuss the correlates of residential status differentials within the Mufakose tenure group more extensively when presenting the Mufakose 1973/74 model. A map of Mufakose is shown in Figure 13.

In Kambuzuma the sample distribution compares favourably with the housing capacity of each section (chi square = 2,6, 5 d.f., $p < .80$). The implication of sectional divisions is not known. Core housing units in township sections were handed over to tenants in numeric order 1 through 6 and additions to the core unite the responsibility of the occupant. One might expect higher prestige to be attached to residence in the older sections for historical reasons:

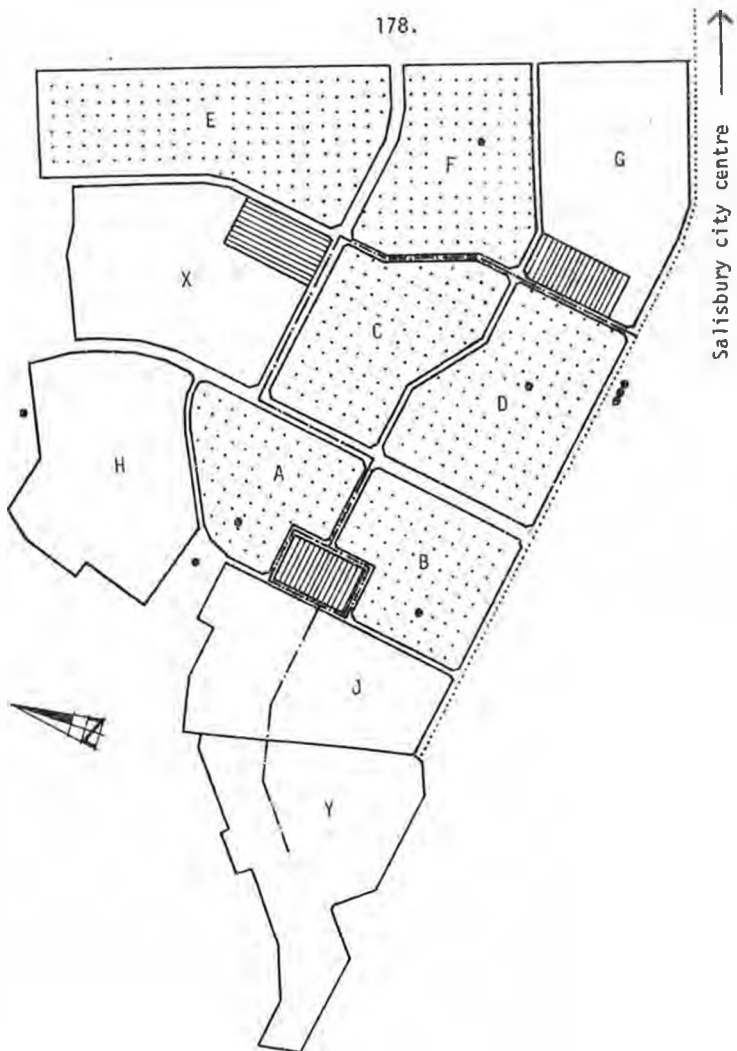
- 1) The original residents were subject to a means test (cf. Vutabwarova, Chimanikire 1969:2).
- 2) Residents in the older sections have had more time in which to extend and improve their property.

5)

Mufakose Township: size of houses by area (1973/74 survey period)						
Area	housing units total 6521	number bedrooms				
		1	2	3	4	
core	A	356	34	188	134	
	B	382	38	218	126	
	C	396	20	188	166	22
	D	496	23	254	197	22
	E	468	21	252	173	22
	F	436	20	214	180	22
new	G	648		648*		
	H	1 010	1 010			
	J	961	372	589		
	X	604		604		
	Y	764		764		

* One and only home-ownership scheme house in Mufakose included.

Source: Figures supplied by Mufakose Administration.











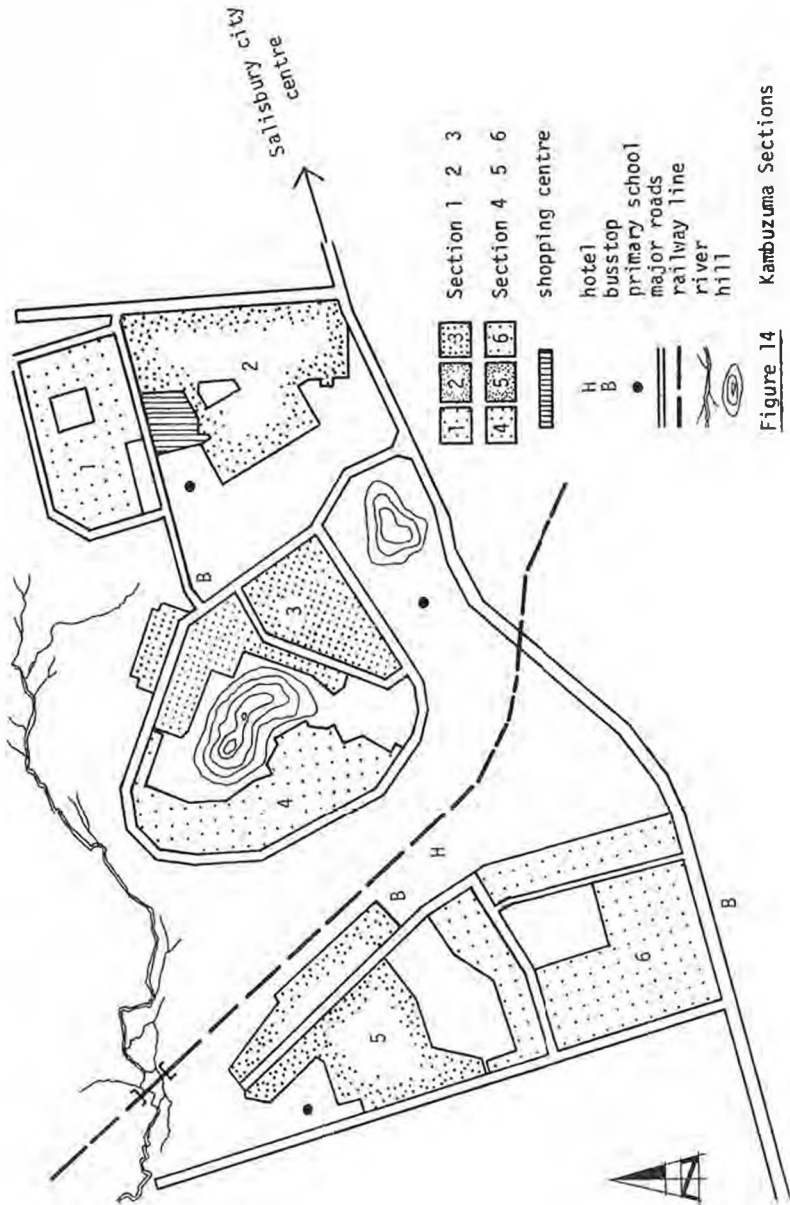
-  Core areas: A B C D E F
-  New areas: H J G Y X
-  shopping centre
-  civic centre
-  primary school
-  secondary school
-  main road to city
-  bus route

Figure 13 Mufakose Areas



For purposes of this study sectional divisions are possibly best applied to constitute two or three residential areas comprising either sections 1-3/4-6 or 1-2/3-4/5-6 respectively (cf. Vutabwarova, Chimankire 1969). Although the strict geographical separation of sections favours the three-fold division (see map on Figure 14) the two-fold one is adopted for the multivariate analysis for practical purposes.

Residential stability: Stability of residence is reflected in the duration of residence in present accommodation (cf. Table 9.4).

Duration of residence in present accommodation			
Hostels: "How long have you lived in Hostels?"			
Townships: "How long have you lived in this house?"			
duration in years	Hostels %	Mufakose %	Kambuzuma %
0 - 4	64,7	22,0	12,0
5 - 9	26,7	48,0	36,0
10 - 14	6,0	22,7	52,0
15 - 19	1,3	7,3	-
20 - 24	1,3	-	-
	100,0 N = 150	100,0 N = 150	100,0 N = 150
median	2 years	6 years	10 years
mean	4,4 years	7,8 years	8,6 years

Consistent with our working hypothesis, turnover in townships decreases with rising tenure status, that is the incentive to move is reduced substantially, when domestic-age and socio-economic status are compatible with tenure status position. The above trend is further supported by the findings shown in Table 9.5. Bearing the dates of township inception in mind (Mufakose 1960 and Kambuzuma late 1963), Kambuzuma residents are relatively more established in their township than Mufakose residents in theirs.

It would appear that higher tenure status promotes residential stability which in turn is conducive to various possible expressions of commitment to the urban accommodation unit; in fact the actor can effect an increase in residential status on an individual basis without external help. For instance Kambuzuma residents are responsible for extensions to their homes (cf. Table 9.2 accommodation type) and the installation of electricity (cf. Table 9.3 electricity in home).

Consistent with varying conditions of tenure two different measures of commitment to the present township accommodation unit were employed. The distributions on the commitment variable are exhibited in Table 9.6.

Table 9.5. 1975 Study

<u>Duration of residence in Township (Townships)</u>		
"How long have you lived in this Township?"		
duration in years	Mufakose %	Kambuzuma %
0 - 4	15,3	11,3
5 - 9	42,7	33,3
10 - 14	30,0	55,4
15 - 19	12,0	-
	100,0 N = 150	100,0 N = 150
median	8 years	10 years
mean	8,8 years	8,8 years

Table 9.6. 1975 Study

<u>Commitment to present accommodation (Townships)</u>			
Mufakose "Have you made home improvements?"		Kambuzuma "Have you obtained the title deeds to your property yet?"	
improvements ⁶⁾	%	title deeds	%
no	36,0	no	85,3
yes	64,0	yes	14,7
	100,0 N = 150		100,0 N = 150

- 6) Home improvements in Mufakose include (N = 96 or 64 per cent of sample):
indoor improvements: Painting (71), wallpapering (1), inside doors (19), separation of kitchen from sitting room (2) floor finish/tiles (11), curtain fixtures (2), picture rails (3).
outdoor improvements: Burglar bars (19), paving of paths (3), hedge/fence (6), fruit trees (5). Total 142 improvements.

Intra-township residential mobility: It might be argued that residential differences within tenure groups must reach a certain level in order to make residential mobility within the township worthwhile in terms of upward mobility. It has been suggested that residential status differences are particularly evident in Mufakose between the core area and the new area. In accordance with our working hypothesis we therefore expect

- 1) that both actual and aspired residential mobility takes place in the direction newer areas to core areas, and
- 2) that intra-township residential mobility is more pronounced in Mufakose than Kambuzuma (cf. residential stability above).

Findings from the 1973/74 survey confirm the first supposition. The largest number of moves made by Mufakose respondents since coming to Mufakose are moves from new areas to core areas (cf. Table 9.7). Within the core areas, the majority of moves were made to the most select Areas E and F.

Aspired intra-township mobility follows the same pattern. If movement in Mufakose were unrestricted, the core areas would make the highest potential population gain (cf. Table 9.8), mainly because they are electrified and boast the largest houses in the Township (cf. Table 9.9).

Actual mobility in Mufakose Township			
former residence	present core Areas A to F %	residence: new Areas H to X %	total %
core Areas A to F	90,0	85,7	88,2
new Areas H to X	10,0	14,3	11,8
	100,0 N = 20	100,0 N = 14	100,0 N = 34

source: Møller 1974c:84

In the 1975 survey, a case study of Mufakose and Kambuzuma respondents who had been internally mobile was made. The findings support the second part of the working hypothesis above; intra-township mobility is three times higher in Mufakose than in Kambuzuma (10 moves were recorded in Kambuzuma, 35 moves in Mufakose). In Kambuzuma the majority of mobile residents have graduated from lodger or caretaker to lessee status.

Table 9.8. 1973/74 Mufakose Study

Aspiration of principal respondents for mobility in Mufakose by Area

"If you were given the opportunity to move with your family, to which area in Mufakose would you go?"

Area	N	present residence %	aspired residence %	aspired change %	percentage change*
A	10	3,7	3,7	0,0	0,0
B	13	4,8	4,4	-0,4	-7,7
C	17	6,3	6,3	0,0	0,0
D	24	8,8	11,8	+3,0	+33,3
E	17	6,3	9,2	+2,9	+47,1
F	20	7,4	8,5	+1,1	+15,0
any core	-	-	32,5	+32,5	-
H	38	14,0	3,3	-10,7	-76,3
G	31	11,4	3,0	-8,4	-74,2
J	42	15,4	5,9	-9,5	-61,9
Y	35	12,9	3,3	-9,6	-74,3
X	25	9,2	5,2	-4,0	-44,0
other	-	-	3,0	+3,0	-
	272	100,2	100,1	+42,5	
		N = 272	N = 271	-42,6	

DK

notes: + positive sign denotes aspired population increase in Area: potential gain.
 - negative sign denotes aspired population decrease in Area: potential loss.

* basis for calculation is the sample representation in each Area, e.g. in Area A 10 = 100%.

Mobility often coincides with the inception of a new phase in the life-cycle such as might accompany a change of marital status. Mobility in Kambuzuma is therefore related to balancing individual status constellations and is not caused by status differentials between the Township sections. In Mufakose mobility related to family status change is uncommon, most moves have been made in order to obtain better accommodation. Not quite consistent with expectations, the majority of transfers occur within the core area and not from the new to the core area.

The 1975 case study further confirms that intra-township mobility constitutes upward mobility. In Kambuzuma, virtually all moves reflect individual upward mobility. In Mufakose a count of the mobility types yields the results shown in Table 9.10.

Table 9.9. 1973/74 Mufakose Study	
Reason for aspired mobility in Mufakose Township (Rhodesian principal respondents)	
"If you were given the opportunity to move with your family, to which area in Mufakose would you go?"	
reason	%
electricity in houses of area (fuel expenditure cut, clean)	19,5
size of houses in area	13,2
enumeration of several positive aspects in housing of area	10,9
habit	6,3
design, construction of houses in area	5,2
quietness, security of area	4,6
good neighbours in area	3,4
general superiority of area	2,3
other reasons	3,4
centrality (distance from area to township facilities)	2,3
distance from area to place of work	1,1
specific advantages of particular house/plot in area	1,1
other specific qualities of area	0,6
	73,9
no reason given	25,9
	99,8
N (includes those wishing to remain in area of residence)	N = 174

Table 9.10. 1975 Study	
Mufakose intra-township mobility case study	
mobility type	%
upward mobility (including horizontal mobility)	74,3
downward mobility	11,4
unclassified due to insufficient information	14,3
	100,0
	N = 35

Upward mobility is defined as a move from a smaller to a larger house and/or a move from the new 'dark' to the core 'lit' area (Møller 1975: 23-24). Table 9.10 shows that upward intra-township mobility is predominant in Mufakose.

Table 9.11. 1975 Study	
Residential mobility (Hostels)	
"Have you ever lived anywhere else in town besides a hostel?"	
response	%
yes	60,0
no	40,0
	100,0
	N = 150
place of former residence	
job premises, construction site	4,4
European areas	15,6
Townships: Highfield	32,2
Harare	20,0
Mufakose	6,7
Kambuzuma	6,7
Glen Norah	4,4
Tafara	2,2
Mabvuku	1,1
Rugare	1,1
St. Mary	1,1
several	3,3/78,8
unspecified	1,1
	99,9
	N = 90
residential status at place of former residence	
relative of authorised occupier	48,9
lodger	27,8
kia occupier	8,9
renter	7,8
friend (fellow church member) of authorised occupier	4,4
unspecified	2,2
	100,0
	N = 90
duration of residence at place other than Hostels in years	
- 1	24,4
1 - 2	16,7
3 - 4	20,0
5 - 6	8,9
7 - 8	6,7
9 - 10	7,8
11 - 12	6,7
13+	7,8
unspecified	1,1
	100,1
	N = 90

Table 9.12. 1975 Study

Residential mobility (Townships)

number successive residences in Salisbury			residential mobility implies		
	Mufakose %	Kambuzuma %	mobility type	Mufakose %	Kambuzuma %
1	2,7	2,0	upward	87,3	96,7
2	38,7	42,6	no	2,0	-
3	34,7	34,7	downward	6,0	-
4	10,7	10,7	uncertain	2,0	0,7
5	10,7	5,3	n/a, first residence	2,7	2,7
6	1,3	4,0			
7	0,7	-			
8	-	0,7		100,0	100,1
9	0,7	-		N = 150	N = 150
	100,2	100,0			
	N = 150	N = 150			

Table 9.13. 1975 Study

Residential mobility (Townships)

years resident in married accommodation (in Salisbury)			years of married life not resident in married accommodation (in Salisbury)		
years	Mufakose %	Kambuzuma %	years	Mufakose %	Kambuzuma %
0 - 4	10,7	8,0	0 - 1	34,0	62,8
5 - 9	35,3	27,3	2 - 3	12,9	12,8
10 - 14	25,3	44,0	4 - 5	13,6	7,4
15 - 19	22,0	14,7	6 - 7	8,8	8,1
20 - 24	4,7	5,3	8 - 9	9,5	4,7
25 - 29	0,7	0,7	10 - 11	6,8	1,4
30 - 34	-	-	12 - 13	4,1	1,4
35 - 39	1,3	-	14 - 15	10,2	1,4
	100,0	100,0		99,9	100,0
	N = 150	N = 150		N = 147	N = 148

Table 9.14. 1975 Study

Residential mobility (Mufakose)

Mufakose residents who have spent six or more years of their married life in Salisbury in non-married accommodation.

Area	N	N as % of total Area respondents	total respondents in Area	
core areas	A	3	43	7
	B	5	46	11
	C	2	14	14
	D	3	16	19
	E	5	31	16
	F	3 (21)	21 (26%)	14 (81)
new areas	H	6	43	14
	G	15	75	20
	J	6	40	15
	Y	5	46	11
	X	5 (37)	56 (54%)	9 (69)
Mufakose	58	39%	150	

Inter-township residential mobility: If the general proposition that an urban actor will endeavour to change his residential status in keeping with his domestic-age and socio-economic status holds, it may be argued that a standard pattern of residential mobility must evolve. It is assumed that in the majority of cases both domestic-age (phase of family expansion) and socio-economic status increase in time and therefore call for a minimal degree of *upward* residential mobility in terms of accommodation space and security of tenure. In order to check the validity of this argument information on the residential history of migrants (cf. Table 9.11) and townsmen (cf. Tables 9.12 and 9.13) was collected.

Before coming to the hostels, the majority of migrants have been living with relatives in the oldest, largest and most central Salisbury townships. A small percentage have lived in European areas on the work premises. Time spent living outside the hostels is in most cases very short. It is the shortest for those staying with relatives, suggesting that many migrants seek a pied-a-terre with relatives while securing a job

in town.⁷⁾

The majority of townsmen have changed residential address in

- 7) These findings suggest that chain migration, in the sense that migrants expect to be offered hospitality by kinsmen already working in town, is an important factor in determining migratory flows in Rhodesia as elsewhere in Africa (cf. Caldwell 1969:80ff.). Consider also the notion of the stem family (Brown et al. 1970) or the 'modified extended' family (Litwak 1960) with members circulating between rural and urban areas over generations according to life-cycle patterns. In this connection it is interesting to note the number and type of kinsmen reported as dwelling in town by the 1973 hostel respondents. Figures in the table below suggest that chain migration follows patrilineal lines as would be expected with the predominantly Shona origin of migrants.

1973 Hostels Study: Rhodesian respondents with relatives living in town			
response	agnates* %	cognates* %	affines* %
yes	81,0	53,5	12,7
N = 353 = 100%			
non-response 5			
* see table below.			

On the other hand, judging from the differential number of visitors received by Hostels and Mufakose respondents from their rural kinsmen, residential status might determine the degree to which an urban dweller is actually called upon to accommodate new arrivals to town. Only townsmen in family accommodation can legally fulfill their kinship obligations by offering hospitality to country relatives.

Respondents who receive visits from kinsmen in town by type of kin			
"Which of your relatives from the rural areas visit you in town most often?"			
type of kin	1973 Hostels Study Rhodesian hostel dwellers		1973/74 Mufakose Study Mufakose townsmen
	%		%
agnates*	49		62
cognates*	23		41
affines*	15		32
N = 358, 6DK, 1n/a,		N = 170, 5DK, 165 = 100%	
*Agnates, cognates and affines are related to the respondent through the patriline, matriline and by marriage respectively.			

Hospitality may however be less forthcoming when income status increases and attitudes change (cf. Kileff 1971, Stopforth's (1973b:53ff;1972: 74) findings are inconclusive in this respect).

Salisbury two or three times⁸⁾ (cf. Table 9.12). Respondents still living in their first Salisbury residence have without exception lived in other centres (Møller 1975:27). On the whole, persons who have experience of other urban centres have made one move less than persons without such experience. One of the most significant findings pertaining to residential history is that the lower tenure groups have a past record of status disequilibrium between residential and family status. Two-thirds of Kambuzuma compared to only one-third of Mufakose respondents have had access to family accommodation during their entire married life (cf. Table 9.13). Moreover, among the under-privileged, those in Mufakose are relatively more so than their Kambuzuma counterparts. Half of the Mufakose under-privileged have spent at least 6 to 7 years of their married life in non-married accommodation compared to at least 4 to 5 years for the Kambuzuma under-privileged group (Mufakose/Kambuzuma means: 7,6/5,6 years). Furthermore, in Mufakose a higher proportion of the under-privileged group are presently living in the less privileged 'new' areas in Mufakose (cf. Table 9.14).

In order to test the proposition that persons would normally move to better accommodation if circumstances permitted, the residential histories of respondents were scrutinized for upward mobility trends. A sequence of moves was classified as upward mobility if the last accommodation unit occupied was considered superior to previous ones. According to this classification the majority of townsmen have experienced some residential mobility in their lives (cf. Table 9.12).

Residential pattern: If residential mobility, as a response to the progression through consecutive life-cycle stages and to the rise in socio-economic status, is continuously pursued, a typical pattern emerges. Following the progression through different accommodation types made by the typical African migrant to Salisbury we would expect to trace the pattern below.

After arriving in town the migrant will move into:

- 8) Compare also the residential history of 1973/74 Mufakose survey respondents.

Former residence of Rhodesian principal respondents outside Mufakose	
"Where did you live before coming to Mufakose?"	
former residence	%
other Salisbury African township	73,6
Harare Hostels	15,5
Salisbury European area	3,4
special Salisbury compounds	2,3
other area in Rhodesia	2,3
other urban area in Rhodesia	1,1
rural area	1,1
abroad	0,6
	99,9

- E a kia in the European area or a compound in the industrial sites, from there he will move to
- H Hostels accommodation or equivalent single accommodation, from there he will move to
- L Lodger's accommodation (legal or illegal), From there he will move to
- R Rented accommodation, from there he will move to
- O a purchase house in a home-Ownership scheme..

The accommodation types are identified by the letters on the left. The pattern is adhered to when progression through accommodation types with optional omissions follows the above sequence E H L R O. The progression through all accommodation types comprises the most complete pattern.

Pattern deviance is caused by change in sequence of accommodation types occupied. Table 9.15 shows that 88,7 and 94,9 per cent of all Mufakose and Kambuzuma respondents respectively follow the standard pattern. Mufakose respondents have reached the penultimate, Kambuzuma respondents the ultimate step in the pattern sequence.

Aspirations for residential mobility: Having traced the typical mobility pattern which appears to have validity for all samples regarding past mobility, it remains to discover if potential mobility follows the standard pattern as well.

Aspirations for inter-township mobility in the 1975 Study confirm our working hypothesis as far as direction and intensity are concerned. Aspirations for residential mobility are more pronounced in the lower tenure status group. The proportion of respondents aspiring inter-township mobility in Mufakose and Kambuzuma is significantly different (chi square = 11,4, 2 d.f., $p < .001$) (cf. Table 9.16).

Reasons proffered for aspired residential mobility express the desire for advancement along tenure status lines. According to our classification Kambuzuma residents have reached the highest rung on the tenure ladder and aspirations refer to the limited range of mobility within the purchase home type (i.e. increased accommodation space, larger stand).

1973/74 Mufakose survey findings further confirm the postulated direction of potential residential mobility (cf. Table 9.17). Fifty-eight, 4 per cent of Rhodesian respondents in the 1973/74 Survey would move to another township chiefly for greater security of tenure, improved accommodation or accessibility of services and amenities. It is interesting to note that long residence in Mufakose township and being on good terms with neighbours act as deterrents to potential residential mobility.

Table 9.15. 1975 Study

Residential mobility pattern

Progression through accommodation types during sojourn in Salisbury urban centre from left to right.

Mufakose N = 150 = 100%		deviant pattern %		Kambuzuma N = 150 = 100%		deviant pattern %	
standard pattern	%	pattern	%	standard pattern	%	pattern	%
R	7,3	L H R	0,7	O	2,7	L E O	1,3
E R	5,3	L E R	0,7	E O	2,7	L H O	0,7
H R	26,7	H E R	0,7	H O	4,0	H E L O	0,7
L R	30,7	L E L R	0,7	L O	42,0	L E L O	1,3
E H R	6,0	L E L E R	0,7	R O	8,0	L H L O	0,7
E L R	4,7	R H R	0,7	E L O	9,3	H L H O	0,7
H L R	7,3	O R	1,3	R L O	0,7		
E H L R	0,7	L O R	3,3	E R O	0,7		
		R O R	1,3	L R O	6,7		
		L R O R	0,7	H L O	10,7		
		H E O R	0,7	H R O	4,7		
				E H L O	1,3		
				H L R O	0,7		
				E H L R O	0,7		
	88,7		11,5		94,9		5,4

Legend: accommodation types

- E accommodation in compound or European residential area
 H hostel or official bachelor accommodation (chiefly darare Township)
 L lodger accommodation (legal or illegal) inclusive accommodation with relatives and family
 R rented accommodation in African townships
 O home-ownership accommodation.

The importance of tenure status is further corroborated as the motivating force behind potential residential mobility in a further 1973/74 Mufakose survey finding. Consider that change represents a particular aspect of mobility. It is thought that an actor will alternatively seek to change his environment when spatial mobility is not desirable or feasible. With this rationale in mind, aspirations for mobility may be operationalized by suggestions for change in the present environment. As evident from Table 9.18 change of tenure in Mufakose figures very prominently on the list of suggestions offered by residents for the improvement of their township.

Table 9.16. 1975 Study

Aspirations for residential mobility (Townships)

"Is there any other township to which you would like to move?"

mobility aspirations	Mufakose %	Kambuzuma* %	township chosen	Mufakose %	Kambuzuma %
yes	40,0	19,3	Kambuzuma	40,0	-
no	60,0	80,7	Highfield	28,3	17,2
	100,0	100,0	Highfield or Kambuzuma	6,7	-
	N = 150	N = 150	Harare	8,3	-
			Marimba Park	5,0	51,7
			Glen Norah	5,0	-
			Mabvuku	1,7	-
			Westwood	1,7	13,8
			Seki	1,7	13,8
			other	1,7	-
			Bulawayo Township	-	3,4
				100,1	99,9
reason for choice				Mufakose %	Kambuzuma* %
home-ownership scheme				56,7	13,8
larger stands				1,7	37,9
centrality				13,3	3,4
prestige, higher standard				1,7	24,1
value for money				3,3	-
peace, quietness				3,3	6,9
lodgers permitted				1,7	-
like a city/lively/entertainment				3,3	3,4
fewer regulations				-	3,4
business stands				-	3,4
home ownership/prestige				1,7	-
home ownership/centrality				1,7	-
possible to offer hospitality to European visitors				1,7	-
personal reasons				10,0	3,4
				100,1	99,7
				N = 60	N = 29

* Adjusted to exclude 4 Kambuzuma respondents who chose their own Township because of the home-ownership scheme (3) and the quietness (1).

Table 9.17. 1973/74 Mufakose Study	
Aspired inter-township mobility of Rhodesian principal respondents (N = 174)	
"If you were given the opportunity to move with your family, to which township outside Mufakose would you move?"	
response	%
other Salisbury African township	58,4
no aspired mobility	41,6
	100,0
non-response	N = 173 1
reason	%
tenure, home ownership	25,4
centrality (to work place, transportation, township facilities)	19,7
qualified wish to remain in Mufakose, satisfied with residence, neighbours	12,0
better accommodation: size, design, construction, amenities	9,9
quiet, secure township	13,4
personal preference, personal experience or knowledge	7,7
other	4,2
choice fictive or impossible due to lack of knowledge	2,1
people/atmosphere in general	2,1
favourable administration, fewer night raids	2,1
economic reasons	1,4
	100,0
unqualified wish to remain in Mufakose	N = 142 32

The urban priorities set out by Mufakose residents reveal the significance of tenure and accommodation aspects in the eyes of townsmen (cf. Table 9.19).⁹⁾

- 9) Methodological notes: The four priorities were discussed with the respondent and for each priority three items were given by way of example. Each respondent was asked to rank the three items in terms of their importance within the sphere of the priority. Subsequently the four priorities were again ordered to achieve an overall urban priority ranking. - All instructions were standardized as far as possible. The order of both the priorities and the items within each priority sphere were systematically rotated. This was achieved by printing the priorities with varying item order on cards, which were shuffled before each interview. The respondent or the fieldworker, depending upon the degree of literacy of the interviewee, then proceeded to read out the priorities in the given order. The inquiry was standardized and conducted in the vernacular, the English equivalent is given in the legend to Table 9.19.

Table 9.18. 1973/74 Mufakose Study

Rhodesian principal respondents' proposals for change in Mufakose
(N = 174)

"If you were given a choice, what would you change first in this township?"

issues	%
rent policy: rates, payment intervals	31,3
tenure: home ownership	20,9
house raids, security issues	14,1
housing: construction, design, plastering, partitioning, alteration possibilities, size, number of houses available	10,4
electricity supply	6,7
communication: centrality, transport, road improve- ment, shopping centre distribution	6,1
accommodation policy: re-allocation according to family needs, registration of children and visitors	3,1
other	3,7
township facilities: educational, medical, recreational	3,7
	100,0
don't know	N = 163 1
no change necessary	10

It was found that tenure and housing were viewed as closely related by the 1973/74 Mufakose survey respondents and a preference for a ready-made solution to housing needs, such as a home-ownership scheme, was voiced. The size of the accommodation unit is the predominant dimension as regards housing priorities.

At first sight 1975 Hostels survey results do not appear to support the proposition that low tenure status is correlated with high aspirations for upward mobility. Among hostel dwellers aspirations for residential mobility are low. It is however suggested that the overall low rank of migrants on central status lines (particularly income status) is the chief deterrent to aspirations for residential mobility in town. The urban status configuration of migrants may be equilibrated at a very low level. Reasons stated for the negative response to residential mobility aspirations in Table 9.20 support this interpretation.

When the pertinent question is phrased differently, aspirations for residential mobility in the proposed direction are indeed very strong in the hostels group, as the 1973 survey findings in Table 9.21 show. It is also true that the 1973 Study results indicate that the realization of these aspirations is severely curtailed by the lack of financial resources of migrants. Along similar lines, the response to an Attitude-Behaviour Scale on accommodation items expresses latent aspirations for improved security of tenure in town (cf. Table 9.22).

Table 9.19. 1973/74 Mufakose Study

Urban priority ranking

"People are concerned with improvements in townships and what should be done about them.

What do you think is most important for you in a community like the one you live in?

Housing

If you could choose freely, would you prefer to live in a -

- A small (4-roomed) house that cannot be extended
- B small (2-roomed) house that can be extended to suit your family needs
- C large (6-roomed) house that cannot be extended.

Tenure

If you could choose freely, would you prefer to -

- A rent a house from the municipality
- B own a house in a township
- C own a plot of land in a township and be responsible for building a house.

Community services

If you could choose freely, would you prefer better -

- A schools
- B medical services
- C recreational services (beer-halls, women's clubs, sports clubs, etc.)

Facilities

What do you consider most important in a township -

- A adequate bus service
- B tarred and lit roads
- C home facilities: electricity, water-borne sewerage, laid on water, indoor cooking facilities, etc."

Urban priorities: summary N = 257* Mufakose principal respondents+

Ranked priorities identification	mean rank	Items in order of importance identification	%
Community services	2.1	A Schools	53,2
		B Medical services	43,8
		C Recreation	3,0
			<u>100,0</u>
Tenure	2.3	B Ownership	55,9
		A Rental	25,8
		C Builder	18,4
			<u>100,1</u>

Continued

Table 9.19 Continued			
Urban priorities: summary N = 257* Mufakose principal respondents+			
Ranked priorities identification	mean rank	Items in order of importance identification	%
Housing	2.5	C Large house	38,8
		B Extendable house	31,4
		A Modern house	29,8
			100,0
Facilities	3.0	C Home facilities	47,1
		A Bus service	31,0
		B Roads	22,0
			100,1
don't know, non-response			15
+ Priority ranking of the total sample and the Rhodesian sector is very similar. Only figures referring to the total sample are given.			
* Over and under-nomination possible			

Table 9.20 1975 Study			
Aspirations for residential mobility (Hostels)			
"Would you like to bring your family to town to live with you in a township while you are working in town?"			
response	%		
yes	15,3		
no	84,0		
non-response	0,7		
	100,0		
reason for positive response	%	reason for negative response	%
dislike of family separation	52,2	family must attend to fields/	
future home will be in town	8,7	livestock/home	38,1
no rural ties	8,7	economic	32,5
wants to care for family/		security	9,5
be cared for by family	8,7	family must remain in rural	
personal reasons	8,7	area and visit town	7,9
urbanization trend	4,3	town is simply a workplace	3,2
self-evident	8,7	socialization of children	3,2
		love of rural life/dislike	
		of town life	1,6
		other: personal reasons	1,6
		self-evident	2,4
	100,0		100,0
	N = 23		N = 126

Table 9.21. 1973 Hostels Study

Residence preference (Rhodesians only, N = 358)

"If you had a choice would you prefer to live in a hostel or in a house in the township?"

preference for	%
living in a house in the township	91,1
living in a hostel	8,9
	100,0
	N = 350
don't know	2
non-response	6

Table 9.22. 1973 Hostels Study

Response of Rhodesian respondents to items concerning accommodation on an Attitude-Behaviour Scale¹⁰) N = 355

- With respect to township dwellers, you yourself believe that it is usually wrong for township dwellers to be given new homes before hostel dwellers. (87,3% approval)
- You agree that most people like you believe that living in a house in the townships gives a man more advantages in town than living in a hostel. (81,7% approval)
- You yourself would feel more secure living in a house in the township than living in a hostel. (81,1% approval)
- Other people believe that hostel dwellers have accommodation, which is worse than the accommodation of township dwellers. (79,4% approval)
- You have seen that living in a house is a better way of life than living in a hostel. (74,4% approval)
- You feel more like sharing the township dwellers' way of life when you see them living in their own houses. (51,8% approval)

10) The phrasing of the scale items is attributed to a method devised by Jordan (1971), who attempts to determine multiple facets of attitude-behaviour toward objects.

Conclusions: In this chapter a typical residential mobility pattern, which is consistent with life-cycle theory, is presented. The pattern incorporates the transition from the 'migrant' to 'townsman' urban type as defined in terms of tenure status. The validity of the pattern is supported by the residential histories of the 1975 survey respondents. The proposition that a lead of the domestic-age factors, that is the family status, is tendentially followed by a residential and a tenure status rise, is empirically confirmed by actual and aspired mobility trends. Empirical evidence suggests that actual and potential upward residential mobility is possibly highest for individuals occupying intermediate tenure status ranks (exemplified by Mufakose residents). The low upper ceiling on the African residential hierarchy limits residential mobility of individuals on top ranking tenure positions (exemplified by Kambuzuma residents). Low economic status combined with low tenure status (exemplified by Hostel dwellers) may also inhibit upward residential mobility.

CHAPTER 10.1975 SURVEY FINDINGS:
MIGRATION HISTORY AND ITS CORRELATES.

In this chapter we shall look into aspects relating to respondents' migration history and into factors conducive to extending the urban sojourn to comprise the full working life and possibly beyond. We shall commence with standard measures of stabilization - partially replicating the earlier Hostels 1973 and Mufakose 1973/74 surveys - and then branch out to illuminate further aspects which were left in the dark in the earlier fieldwork. The exploratory nature of the second section of this chapter will become evident when viewing the material collected. As the material is relatively unstructured and does not lend itself to easy tabulation, some of the exploratory leads come to dead ends. It is however felt that the data presented in this section contribute to a more extensive knowledge of stabilization and urban commitment trends in African urbanization.

The working hypothesis to be tested in this chapter is that *stabilization and urban commitment increase systematically with increasing tenure and socio-economic status*. As we have pointed out above in Chapter 5, a certain interdependence between the variables is given: the fruits of stabilization may be expressed in terms of urban wealth inclusive immovable property, which in turn provides an incentive to remain in town; but initially the migrant must legitimize his urban presence with a job and accommodation. Urban commitment denotes the psychological facet of stabilization and expresses the desire to continue urban presence.

Stabilization parameters:

Urban generation: A slight rise in the proportion urban born is observed from the Hostels to the Kambuzuma sample (cf. Table 10.1, also Table 6.3 in Chapter 6).

<u>Urban generation</u>			
<u>generation</u>	<u>Hostels</u> %	<u>Mufakose</u> %	<u>Kambuzuma</u> %
first	98,0	94,7	93,3
second or more	2,0	5,3	6,7
	100,0	100,0	100,0
	N = 150	N = 150	N = 150

It is however thought that with the increasing spatial mobility of parents, particularly mothers, the birthplace indicator is losing its power of distinction and two further background indicators were therefore introduced into the 1975 survey.¹⁾

Urban/rural school experience: The school background of both town and rural samples is very similar as regards locality (cf. Table 10.2). The majority of townsmen were educated in the rural areas. As would be expected, the children of urban workers (cf. migration tradition below) are more likely to receive some or part of their education in town than the children of non-urban workers. This difference is more significant for Kambuzuma than Mufakose (chi square for Kambuzuma/Mufakose = 26,3, 1 d.f., $p < .001/.02$).

Migration tradition: Surprisingly the migration tradition is much stronger with migrants than with townsmen (cf. Table 10.3). This suggests, that, with migrants, the migration tradition is perpetuated over generations, whereas, with townsmen, spatial mobility is accompanied by social mobility in terms of tenure and socio-economic status.

- 1) It is possible that the proportion of urban born is higher in the established Salisbury African Townships such as Harare and Highfield. May (1973:9-10) in her research on drinking patterns considered 26,26 per cent urban born as low for a random subsample drawn from her Highfield sample (Reader, May 1971). In a follow-up survey conducted in Harare, May (undated: 1,3) found that 26,26 per cent of adults legally resident in the township, but not in the Harare Hostels, were born in town and a further 7,16 per cent had come to town as children under the age of ten (undated: 3). May describes the Harare sample population as an older, more stable population than the Highfield one, committed to its normal life in town to a greater degree (undated: 4). - Stopforth gives a figure of 14,7 per cent for his Highfield sample (1971:30ff.). Stopforth characterizes the second urban generation as being young and more likely to be dependent in the urban household. The second generation generation possesses higher educational qualifications and is less likely to visit the rural area than the first urban generation. - In this connection it is also interesting to note that 26,7 per cent of the Charles Briggs Hostel enumeration (N=30) (cf. Chapter 3), representing the second generation in town. The occupants of these exclusive bachelor flats were interviewed in a pilot survey to test the 1973 survey instrument.

Table 10.2. 1975 Study

Urban/rural school experience (Townships)

"Where did you go to school as a child?"

school experience	Mufakose %	Kambuzuma %
in town	9,3	8,7
in town and rural areas	17,3	19,3
at mine	1,3	-
in rural areas	72,0	71,3
	99,9	99,3
n/a	N = 150	N = 150
		0,7

Table 10.3. 1975 Study

Migration tradition

"Did your father work in town?"

response	Hostels %	Mufakose %	Kambuzuma %
yes	67,3	44,7	45,3
no	30,7	52,0	52,7
other: worked in mine/on farm	1,3	3,3	-
purchase area farmer	0,7	-	-
don't know	-	-	2,0
	100,0	100,0	100,0
	N = 150	N = 150	N = 150

Urban experience over fifteen years of age and stabilization index:
 Urban experience of the respondents meets expectations when the age differential is taken into consideration (cf. Table 10.4). Townspeople have had markedly more urban experience than migrants.

Employing Mitchell's stabilization index (1956: 705; 1969b: 480), the proportion of adult life spent in town was computed. The index is ideally cross-tabulated by age group.

Table 10.4. 1975 Study

Urban experience over 15 years of age

Hostels: "How long have you worked in town?"

Townships: "How long have you lived in town?"

years	Hostels %	Mufakose %	Kambuzuma %
0 - 4	40,0	0,7	-
5 - 9	28,7	1,3	3,3
10 - 14	11,3	7,3	16,7
15 - 19	10,0	22,7	31,3
20 - 24	5,3	28,7	24,0
25 - 29	2,0	24,0	12,7
30 - 34	1,3	4,7	6,0
35 - 39	1,3	4,7	4,0
40 - 44	-	5,3	1,3
45 - 49	-	-	0,7
50 - 54	-	0,7	-
	99,9	100,1	100,0
	N = 150	N = 150	N = 150
mean	8,2	23,4	20,5
median	6	23	19

It can then be shown that the index increases by age cohort.²⁾ Table 10.5 shows that townsmen are more stabilized than migrants. The slightly higher stabilization index for Mufakose is most probably age dependent.

- 2) Stopforth (1971:21) shows for his Highfield sample that the years of urban experience and the stabilization index increase with age. Stabilization indicating a "social stabilization in terms of more settled family life and relative commitment to urban dwelling" (1971:22) occurs at age 37 years in the Highfield sample. At this age the index surpasses the 50 mark. - Surprisingly enough comparison of stabilization indices for Stopforth's Highfield sample (1971:21) and the Hostels 1973 sample by Møller (1973:48-49) revealed that Hostels migrants were just as stabilized or more stabilized than their Highfield counterparts in each age cohort.

The above findings are consistent with earlier research. After reviewing sample distributions on parameters concerning migration behaviour in the 1973 Hostels and the 1973/74 Mufakose survey,³⁾ it was concluded that Mufakose respondents exhibited a higher degree of stabilization in their urban working careers when compared to Hostels migrants - Mufakose stabilization would of course be somewhat boosted by the higher mean age of respondents.

- 3) Migration history was dealt with extensively in the 1973 Hostels Study. Parameters are listed below. Mean and median values for the Total sample (N = 392) are given in brackets. The distribution of values on the parameters for the Rhodesian subsection is very similar to that of the total sample.

Urban generation: (Total: 3,6%, Rhodesians: 3,9% second generation urbanites).

Total urban experience: (mean 9,2 years, median 7 years).

Urban experience after 15 years of age: called 'stabilization' in this Study, (mean 8,7 years, median 6 years).

Stabilization index: years spent in town since 15 years of age divided by years lived since 15 years of age multiplied by 100 (cf. Mitchell 1956: 705; 1969b:480). Stabilization increases with an increase in the index value which ranges from 0 to 100. (Average index in all age cohorts 58,4 (Møller 1973:48)).

Date of first job held in town: (started job mean 8,4 years ago, median 8 years ago).

Number jobs held in town: "How many jobs have you had in town?" (mean 2,3, median 2).

Home visiting pattern in case of unemployment: "Since getting your first job, how often have you gone home after losing or giving up a job?" (mean number home visits 1,6).

Index of home visiting in case of unemployment: total number home visits divided by years spent in town. The rate of home visiting increases with index values which can range from zero to 1. (Mean index value 0,21, 100% = 237).

Duration of longest rural visit: "Since coming to town, what is the longest time you have spent in the rural area?" (Median duration 1 month, mode duration 3 weeks).

Reason for longest rural visit: (100% = 367, 'leave' 56,1%, 'lost employment' 35,4%, 'other' 8,4%).

The inter-relationship between these migration parameters is explored exhaustively in the multivariate analysis which will be discussed later under the heading 1973 Hostels Model.

Migration history parameters included in the Mufakose 1973/74 Study are as follows. Values calculated for the Total sample (N = 272) or the Rhodesian subsection (N = 174) are given in brackets.

Urban generation: (Total: 1,5%, Rhodesians: 1,7% second generation urbanites).

Urban experience over 15 years of age: (Total: median 20 years, Rhodesians: median 19 years).

Continued

3) Continued.

Stabilization index: (Total: 87,6%, Rhodesians: 89,4% score index values over 50, Total median approximately 75).

Date of first job in town: (Total: mean 21 years ago, median 20 years ago; Rhodesians: median 20 years ago).

Number of jobs held since arrival in town: (Total: mean 2,9, median 2; Rhodesians: mean 3,1, median 3).

Number of home visits after loss of employment: (Total: 1,1 home visits, Rhodesians: 1,2 home visits).

Index of home visiting in case of unemployment: (Total: 100% = 185; Rhodesians: 100% = 128; Total: median 0,03; Rhodesians: median 0,04).

Duration of longest rural visit: (Total and Rhodesians: median 4 weeks).

Reason for longest rural visit: (Total: 100% = 244, 'leave' 68,9%, 'out of employment' 26,2%; Rhodesians: 100% = 167, 'leave' 68,3%, 'out of employment' 25,7%).

Building upon the experience gained in the Hostels 1973 multivariate analysis, only the parameters 'number of jobs', 'home visits after loss of employment', 'longest rural visit' and 'reason for longest rural visit' and 'stabilization index' were included in the Mufakose 1973/74 multi-variate analysis.

Stabilization parameters employed in the 1975 Study include some of the parameters used in the previous surveys above, though categorization was often modified. 1975 parameters replicating earlier ones are referred to as 'urban generation', 'urban experience over 15 years of age', 'stabilization index' and 'number jobs held in town', 'career interruptions' and 'reasons for career interruptions'.

Table 10.5. 1975 Study

Stabilization: Proportion of adult life worked (Hostels)/lived (Townships) in town

index*	Hostels %	Mufakose %	Kambuzuma %
- 9	3,3	-	-
10 - 19	4,0	-	0,7
20 - 29	6,7	-	-
30 - 39	11,3	0,7	0,7
40 - 49	18,0	3,3	1,3
50 - 59	18,7	5,3	8,0
60 - 69	13,3	9,3	18,7
70 - 79	10,0	24,0	21,3
80 - 89	7,3	23,3	22,0
90 -100	7,3	34,0	27,3
	99,9	99,9	100,0
	N = 150	N = 150	N = 150
median	43	82	79

* The stabilization index is computed as follows:

$$\frac{\text{years in town since turned 15}}{\text{years lived since turned 15}} \times 100 \quad (\text{Mitchell 1956: 705; 1969b: 480}).$$

However, it was suggested that temporary stabilization during a working life might be characteristic of both urban types. If stabilization indices pertaining to hostel migrants were lower than those pertaining to Mufakose townsmen, it seemed feasible that this was due to interruptions in the migrant career. Thus a lower proportion of adult life would have been spent in town at every stage of life.

It was observed that the phenomenon of home visiting after loss of employment is more predominant in the migrant sample than in the Mufakose sample (Møller 1974c:66). Expressed differently, the cyclic nature of the migrant career as set out in Mitchell's paradigm (cf. Chapter 2) is still evident in the Hostel dweller's migration history. (One cycle refers to a period working in town followed by a period of rest at the rural home; cyclic movements are typical of target workers). It was assumed that the tenure status differential between hostel dwellers and townsmen played a decisive role in this instance. Upon loss of employment, the migrant is forced to return home as his accommodation is tied to his employment, whereas the townsman has a base from which to seek a new job if he can find means of paying his rent. The pressure may also be greater for the townsman to remain in town, as his family should theoretically be established here and would also be up-

rooted if the townsman were to return temporarily to the rural area. - The 1975 Study provided the opportunity to test this proposition.

Urban commitment: Respondents' attitude toward their continued urban presence was assessed with Mitchell's (1969b:483;1973:300) scale of urban commitment. Interviewees were asked how long they intended to stay in town and the response was recorded ad verbatim and later coded according to Mitchell's eight categories of urban commitment.⁴⁾ Response categories expressing increasing urban commitment are grouped together under the headings ; migrant labour, temporary stabilization and permanent stabilization.⁵⁾

The overall trend in the responses given by the 1975 samples meets expectations. A *decrease* in the migrant labour response and a concomitant *increase* in the permanent stabilization response occurs from the first to the third sample (cf. Table 10.6).

It will be noted that the proportion of temporary stabilization responses are high in the Hostels 1975 sample which supports tentative conclusions drawn from the Hostels 1973 Study. It was suggested that the aspirations of today's target workers are set so high that it requires a working lifetime to fulfill them (cf. also Table 7.8, Chapter 7).

Permanent stabilization responses were not expected because the current local urban policy promotes settlement of urban Africans in a working capacity only (cf. Chapter 3). Purchase housing presents the means to individual permanent stabilization. The higher security of tenure offered to Kambuzuma residents is reflected in the higher proportion evincing permanent stabilization attitudes by stating they will stay in town 'forever' or 'till they die'. The Kambuzuma urban commitment response pattern differs significantly from the Mufakose and the Hostels pattern (temporary versus permanent stabilization responses: chi square = 15,5, 1 d.f., $p < .001$).

-
- 4) In the townships samples a sizable proportion of respondents answered with 'don't know'. In some cases this type of answer appeared to reflect the unspecific date of a return to the rural home. It was felt that a self-evident rural return was implied by the 'don't know' response and it was categorized accordingly. In some instances overtones of a non-response might be detected in the 'don't know' response type. Some interviewees were annoyed at being asked questions relating to urban African policy and reacted in an indifferent manner. The same applies to some of the other items reviewed in this chapter.
- 5) In the 1973 article Mitchell refers to these groups under the headings: "target worker", "temporarily urbanized" and "permanently urbanized" (1973:300).

Table 10.6. 1975 Study								
Urban commitment								
"How long do you intend to stay in town?"								
Mitchell's categories of urban commitment*		Hostels		Mufakose		Kambuzuma		
		%	%	%	%	%	%	%
migrant labour response	1. Will return home as soon as possible	1,3		-		-		
	2. Working so as to go home soon	-		0,7		-		
	3. Will return home as soon as speci- fic object is attained	5,3	6,7	1,3	2,0	0,7	0,7	
temporary stabiliza- tion response	4. Will return home at some unspecified future date	10,0		16,7 (12,0)		14,7 (10,0)		
	5. Will stay, but will keep contact with village	-		0,7		-		
	6. Will return home on retirement	78,7	88,7	60,0	89,3	46,7	71,3	
permanent stabiliza- tion response	7. Thinks he will always be (in town)	4,0		7,3		26,7		
	8. Born and bred in town. "As if it were my village."	-	4,0	-	7,3	-	26,7	
	other response don't know (cf. bracket category 4)	0,7	0,7	1,3	1,3	1,3	1,3	
		100,0 N = 150	100,1	100,0 N = 150	99,9	100,1	100,0	

* Mitchell (1969b:483)

Occupational history: The 'number of jobs' indicator used in former studies was replaced with a more comprehensive occupational history. In the era of the target worker, job stability might have been an adequate measure of stabilization indicating the duration of migration cycles (cf. Möller 1974d:6-7); but with temporary and even permanent urban commitment attitudes prevailing among the urban workers of today, it was thought that job stability might assume several - possibly even inconsistent - meanings for stabilization. Table 10.7 shows that the number

of jobs held by respondents since coming to town increases in the order of the Hostels, Kambuzuma and Mufakose samples.

Table 10.7. 1975 Study			
<u>Occupational history</u>			
<u>jobs or positions held in town</u>			
number jobs	Harare %	Mufakose %	Kambuzuma %
1	42,7	15,3	18,0
2	28,7	16,0	24,7
3	22,0	28,0	25,3
4	4,0	14,0	13,3
5	0,7	12,0	6,0
6	1,3	6,7	5,3
7	-	2,0	3,3
8	-	2,7	3,3
9	-	2,0	-
10	-	-	-
11	-	-	-
12	-	0,7	-
13	-	0,7	0,7
14	-	-	-
15	0,7	-	-
	100,1	100,1	99,9
	N = 150	N = 150	N = 150
mean	2,0	3,7	3,2
median	2	3	3
<u>change of job indicates</u>			
achievement	Hostels %	Mufakose %	Kambuzuma %
increase	35,3	59,3	56,7
equal	10,0	6,7	4,7
decrease	2,7	4,0	2,7
uncertain	9,3	14,7	18,0
n/a (first job)	42,7	15,3	18,0
	100,0	100,0	100,1
	N = 150	N = 150	N = 150

Continued

Table 10.7. Continued

Longest period with same employer

years	Hostels %	Mufakose %	Kambuzuma %
0 - 4	24,7	5,3	2,7
5 - 9	24,7	16,0	30,7
10 - 14	12,7	28,7	35,3
15 - 19	3,3	31,3	23,3
20 - 24	3,3	14,7	5,3
25 - 29	-	3,3	2,0
n/a (first job)	31,3	0,7	0,7
	100,0	100,0	100,0
	N = 150	N = 150	N = 150
mean	7,3	14,2	12,2
median	6	14	12

This finding might be accounted for by age differentials between samples. Similarly, age differentials within samples might account for the skewed nature of sample distribution. Findings are consistent with the 1973 Hostels and 1973/74 Mufakose observations.

The sequences of jobs were scored against an achievement rating. Changes of jobs scored an achievement increase if the new job was better paid or afforded higher social prestige. A voluntary change of jobs appeared to be closely related to achievement increase (cf. Sørensen 1974). The last job held was decisive for the rating and each case was judged individually. The 'uncertain' category was used for cases where circumstances would not permit certain categorization, or achievement increase and decrease fluctuated continually.

In all samples changes of jobs usually indicate an achievement increase for the individual. The proportion of cases in the achievement increase category is substantially smaller for the Hostels sample due to the large number of persons holding their first job. It was observed that in real differences achievement increase in the hostels might be minimal compared to that in the townships (especially in Kambuzuma) due to the relatively low starting position of hostel dwellers on the occupational ladder.

Our findings suggest that job mobility is very frequently instrumental to social mobility in terms of economic status gain. Moreover, the content of responses reveals that this is one of the few mechanisms which can be utilized by persons with little formal

education.⁶⁾ It was also noted that promotion and transfer coinciding with achievement increase tended to be institutionalized and continuous in the case of civil servants and some types of professional workers, so that job mobility was sometimes not even registered in the occupational history.

Marked differences between migrants and townsmen are shown for the longest period worked for one employer. Townsmen are more stable workers, but job stability in all samples might be considered relatively high when age differentials are borne in mind.

Career interruptions: (referred to as 'home visiting after giving up or losing employment' in the earlier studies). Approximately one-fifth to ten per cent of respondents in all samples have made one or more breaks in their urban careers (cf. Table 10.8). The trend is in the proposed direction: career interruption decreases with increasing tenure and socio-economic status, but differences are very slight. These findings support the supposition that target migration is yielding to temporary stabilization in all urban groups including what is commonly referred to as the migrant labour group.

There is however a difference in the duration of the rural sojourn between migrants and townsmen.

-
- 6) Kileff (1971:1975) distinguishes between two types of Salisbury African elites: businessmen and professionals. The former have for the most part received little formal education, but have worked their way up in society; the latter are highly qualified and maintain a relatively stable position in society throughout their careers. In terms of structural theory, businessmen most often exhibit a lead of income (I) over educational (E) status. Professionals may possess an equilibrated I=E status constellation at the commencement of their urban careers, but later in life this equilibrium may turn into a disequilibrium of the E greater I type.

In our survey the job of 'driver', which is a somewhat fluid designation, appears to represent a channel of advancement in the occupational sphere instrumental to the income status line. Drivers were categorized as blue-collar workers, but often occupy the highest income positions in this category in their respective urban group. It is a known fact that former drivers are today well-represented (cf. also Kileff 1975) among the most prominent African businessmen in Salisbury.

In this connection compare also Lipset's observation in a mobility study staged in a western industrial context (Oakland, USA) that "self-employment is the principal means of upward mobility for manual workers and the less educated ..." (1955:223). Urban Africans' aspirations to become self-employed businessmen is possibly (cf. Table 7.9 and findings in this chapter) not without reason.

Table 10.8. 1975 Study

Career interruptions:

Return to rural home for period over six months during urban working career.

no. of rural sojourns	Hostels %	career interruption	Mufakose %	Kambuzuma %
0	79,3	no	84,0	89,0
1	16,7	yes	16,0	11,0
2	3,3		100,0	100,0
3	-		N = 150	N = 150
4	0,7			
	100,0 N = 150			
point of return: after ... years		Mufakose %	Kambuzuma %	
0 - 4		33,3	58,8	
5 - 9		20,8	11,8	
10 - 14		33,3	5,9	
15 - 19		4,2	5,9	
20 - 24		-	5,9	
25 - 29		8,3	5,9	
		99,9 N = 24	94,2 N = 17	
no information			5,9	
duration of interruption				
duration in years	Hostels %	Mufakose %	Kambuzuma %	
1/2	6,5	37,5	29,4	
1	29,0	20,8	29,4	
2	25,8	8,3	17,7	
3- 4	19,4	20,8	11,8	
5- 6	3,2	4,2	-	
7- 8	12,9	-	-	
9-10	3,2	4,2	5,9	
11	-	4,2	5,9	
	100,0 N = 31	100,0 N = 24	100,0 N = 17	
median	2 years	1 year	1 year	

Continued

Table 10.8. Continued

reason for rural sojourn	Mufakose %	Kambuzuma %
unemployment	37,5	23,5
rest	20,8	35,3
family affairs	20,8	17,7
illness	4,2	-
farm affairs	4,2	11,8
TTL commuter	4,2	-
(self)/-employed in rural area	8,3	11,8
	100,0	100,1
	N = 24	N = 17

In the Mufakose and Kambuzuma samples career interruptions tend to be very short, usually less than one year duration. In the Hostels sample one to two years is the prevalent rest period.

In accordance with earlier research findings (Møller 1973: 54) it was assumed that the majority of career interruptions were due to unemployment. In the townships samples the rubrics 'unemployment', 'rest' and 'family affairs' cover the majority of reasons stated for urban absence in order of importance. It is interesting to note that some interruptions might not be considered career interruptions at all because respondents were employed or self-employed in non-agricultural occupations in the rural areas.

The majority of Kambuzuma respondents interrupting their urban careers, did so within the first four years after coming to town. With Mufakose respondents the majority of return visits occur anywhere between the first and the fourteenth year in town.

Although only few cases are available for observation, there is no association between the time lapse before returning home and the reason for returning. Home visits in the early stages of an urban career tend to be short. Return migrations for reasons of unemployment, attendance to family or farm affairs usually fall into this category.

Commitment to urban residence when unemployed: In previous research it could be demonstrated that unemployment and return to the rural home were often closely related. The return might be for a short or long period (thus affecting continuous individual stabilization measures to varying degrees). It was noted that the lack of security of tenure in the Hostels often makes a return unavoidable. Hostel accommodation is job-tied and forfeited with the loss of employment. In Mufakose unemployment is punished by the ruling that an unemployed person loses his rights to rental subsidies. Moreover, after a period of grace in which a new job must be secured, a person may be asked to vacate his urban

accommodation to a person actually employed in town.

In order to test the proposition that the higher security of tenure gives Kambuzuma respondents a higher commitment to town even when unemployed, interviewees were asked if they and/or their families would return to the rural areas if they (the interviewees) lost their urban employment (cf. Table 10.9). An overwhelming number of affirmative replies were given by Kambuzuma compared to Mufakose sample respondents (various chi square arrangements yield very significant differences, $p < .01$).

Table 10.9. 1975 Study

Commitment to urban residence when unemployed (Townships)

"If you lost your employment in town, would you stay in town or return to the rural area?" "Would your family (i.e. wife and children) stay or return?"

degree of urban commitment	Mufakose %	Kambuzuma %
high		
respondent and family would stay	29,3	46,0
respondent would stay, family would return	30,0	29,3
respondent would stay, family residence undecided	1,3	1,3
respondent would return, family would stay	1,3	0,7
respondent's residence undecided, family would stay	-	-
respondent's residence undecided, family would return	-	2,0
respondent would return, family residence undecided	0,7	-
respondent and family would return	36,7	18,7
low	99,3	98,0
	N = 150	N = 150
other	0,7	2,0

Forty-six per cent of Kambuzuma respondents would stay in town with their families, 29 per cent alone. Twenty-nine per cent of their Mufakose counterparts would stay with their families, 30 per cent alone. Nineteen per cent of Kambuzuma as against 37 per cent of Mufakose respondents would return to the rural areas with their families. We therefore conclude that career interruptions may decrease with an increase in security of tenure in town.

Experience of urban centres other than Salisbury: In the Hostels 1973 Study the tentative conclusion was drawn that the incidence of step, phase or progressive migration was possibly very low (Møller 1973: 41ff., cf. also Epstein 1969:254). In order to shed more light on this phenomenon hostel dwellers were asked if they had worked elsewhere before coming to Salisbury (cf. Table 10.10). Approximately 20 per cent claim to have done so. It would appear that the majority had worked in an urban centre nearer to home before migrating to Salisbury. Bulawayo is the centre most frequently mentioned as an alternative to Salisbury. Salisbury and Bulawayo hinterlands are separate, but as Salisbury is today the more dominant urban centre, moves from Bulawayo to Salisbury would also be regarded as step migration. These findings suggest that our previous research conclusions must be revised and that step migration is a phenomenon which cannot be overlooked.

In the townships samples some 35 and 45 per cent of Mufakose and Kambuzuma sample respondents have lived in other urban centres. This difference is not significant. The majority have lived in Bulawayo, a large proportion have lived in several Rhodesian towns or have travelled abroad.

Not all urban experience outside the Salisbury centre is step migration in the township cases. A breakdown by the period in which persons lived in other urban centres reveals that approximately 16,0 and 18,7 per cent of cases observed in the Mufakose and Kambuzuma samples respectively are step migration cases. The incidence of step migration is therefore similar in all three samples.

Apart from step migration the broadening of one's urban experience by living in other urban centres for education, training or career purposes is evident in both township samples. A few persons were born or brought up in other urban centres.

Projected retirement age: According to the urban commitment findings (Table 10.9) the majority of urban workers in all samples perceive their urban sojourn to coincide with a working lifetime. In order to determine the span of a working lifetime, township respondents were asked at what age they thought they would retire.

In earlier studies of migrant labour the retiring age has usually been set at approximately 45 years of age. It is proposed that the span of a working life is increasing to 60 or 65 years equivalent to the pensionable age in most modern industrial societies.⁷⁾

7) Prolongation of individual working lives may be regarded as one of the chief determinants of urbanization - used in its demographic sense of urban growth - in a context where the urban population is still largely migrant.

Table 10.10. 1975 Study

Experience of urban centres other than Salisbury

Hostels: "Did you come straight to Salisbury from your home or did you work somewhere else before coming to Salisbury? Where?"

Townships: "Have you ever lived in another urban centre besides Salisbury? In which centre?"

response	Hostels %	response	Mufakose %	Kambuzuma %						
straight to Salisbury	80,0	lived only in Salisbury	64,7	55,3						
worked somewhere else	20,0	lived in other urban centre	35,3	44,7						
	100,0		100,0	100,0						
	N = 150		N = 150	N = 150						
Hostels: ("where?") Bulawayo (8), Gwelo (4), Marandellas (1), QueQue (2), Rusape (2), Sinoia (2), Umtali (1), other (4), several (3), worked at local centre or farm (3). N = 30.										
Mufakose/Kambuzuma: ("In which urban centre?") Bulawayo (19/13), Victoria (-/2), Gatooma (-/5), Gwelo (2/3), Marandellas (1/1), Que Que (1/-), Shabani (1/1), Sinoia (3/1), Umtali (1/8), other (4/5), several (13/13), abroad (8/15). N = 53/67.										
Townships: "Did you live in this urban centre before you came to Salisbury or after living in Salisbury?" "For what reason did you go to live in this urban centre?"										
reason for living in other urban centre	lived in other centre									
	before living in Salisbury		after living in Salisbury		before & after unknown				total	
	M	K	M	K	M	K	M	K	M	K
employment	24	28	4	10	1	-	-	-	29	38
better employment	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
career	-	3	10	10	1	-	1	1	12	14
education/ training	4	8	1	-	-	-	-	-	5	8
personal	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-
residence/birth- place	2	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	4
residence, and other	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
unknown	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
total	34	46	16	20	2	-	1	1	53	67
M Mufakose	K Kambuzuma									

Table 10.11. 1975 Study																		
Projected retirement age by age cohort (Townships)																		
"Have you ever thought of the time when you will stop working? When will that be, in how many years?"																		
age cohort																		
retirement in ..(years)	25-29		30-34		35-39		40-44		45-49		50-54		55-59		60+		totals	
	M	K	M	K	M	K	M	K	M	K	M	K	M	K	M	K	M	K
0 - 4						1			1				1		1	1	3	2
5 - 9					1	2	3	2	2	2		3		2			11	6
10 - 14					2	4		2	1	7	5	8	1				21	9
15 - 19			1	1	1	4	1	7	5	6	5						18	13
20 - 24			1	1	1	7	10	8	2	1	6	2					22	35
25 - 29				1	1	5	9	4	3		1						10	14
30 - 34			3	1	3	5	4	7	4	2							14	15
35 - 39						1	1	2		2							1	5
40 - 44							1										1	-
45 - 49					1												1	-
50+							1										1	-
don't know			2	1	8	6	7	4	13	3	4	3	2				17	37
not thought of it yet	1			1	1	1		5	1	2			1				11	2
forever							1		1	2							2	2
other									1						1		1	1
till no longer fit to work					1		1	2	3	2							5	4
conditional					2	1		2	3		1		2		1		8	4
too poor to retire											3						3	-
no information							1										-	1
M Mufakose	K Kambuzuma															150	150	
Diagonal band includes responses of projected retirement age between 55 - 68 years.																		

Table 10.11 shows that retirement age is a fluid concept. The responses given were broken down by age cohorts in order to facilitate comparison. Responses falling inside the diagonal band drawn in the table represent a projected retirement age between 55 and 68 years. Roughly 60 per cent to two-thirds of projections expressed in years fall within the band limits. The consensus is slightly higher in the Kambuzuma sample. Although the central tendency of responses is low,

within each cohort the mode falls within the band limits.⁸⁾

The most precise formulations of retirement age were given by persons employed in large bureaucratic type organizations which prescribe retirement age and more often than not offer a pension or some form of gratuity to employees at the end of their working careers. For others urban insecurity factors, particularly job insecurity - which is closely tied to physical strength with blue-collar workers - prohibit the definition of a precise retirement age. One townsman pinpointed the problem when he replied: "Africans do not retire by plan (like Europeans), because they cannot make adequate provisions for the future."⁹⁾

The indirect replies to the retirement age question are also revealing. The highest frequencies are contained in the rubrics 'don't know' followed by 'not thought of it yet.' It is suggested that these response categories might indicate an evasive attitude or a short time perception.¹⁰⁾ A short time perception might be expected of younger persons, but it might also be characteristic of the less sophisticated or of persons with little chance of deciding their own destiny in future. The constant change in marginal conditions pertaining to urban Africans lends credibility to the last argument.

Retirement projections: Pursuing the retirement issue some explorative questions were posed regarding preconceived retirement ideas. Similar to the foregoing topics some respondents would not co-operate and elaborate on their notions of retirement. Approximately two-thirds of respondents responded to the set topic and outlined retirement plans. Seventeen and 15 per cent in the Mufakose and Kambuzuma samples said they would make plans nearer to date. This group includes some young persons, but the majority felt they must wait until they had saved some money. Only then could they judge what possibilities were open to them (cf. Table 10.12).

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- 8) 1975 Study findings are very similar to those made by Stopforth (1972: 76, Table XVI) in his Highfield survey. In response to the question "until what age should one work?" 91 per cent of the 66 male respondents stated an age 50 years and over, the emphasis being on the 60 - 69 year bracket (57,6% of responses).
- 9) A further difficulty encountered when posing the retirement question is that the concept of retirement is genuinely diffuse in the vernacular and could only be paraphrased with 'to stop working', or with 'to stop being in employment'.
- 10) Rokeach's (1960: Chapter 20) treatise of time perception is relevant in this context.

Table 10.12. 1975 Study

Retirement projections (Townships)

specificity of plans	Mufakose %		Kambuzuma %					
has definite plans	69,3		68,7					
has vague plans	4,0		6,0					
has not yet made plans	17,3		15,3					
refuses to make plans	6,0		1,3					
self-evident: return to rural area	2,0		1,3					
self-evident: remain in town	-		2,0					
awaiting political settlement	-		2,0					
undecided	0,7		2,7					
no information	0,7		0,7					
	100,0 N = 150		100,0 N = 150					
projected place of retirement								
town	7,3		25,4					
rural area	74,3		49,1					
both, other, undecided	4,6		5,3					
purchase area	13,8		20,2					
	100,0 N = 109		100,0 N = 114					
projected location of family after retirement								
town	5,5		23,7					
wife in town, children will have left home	1,8		3,5					
wife in rural area, children will work in town	17,4		5,3					
rural area	48,6		55,3					
wife in rural area, children have left home	19,3		6,1					
other	3,7		1,8					
unspecified	3,7		4,4					
	100,0 N = 109		100,1 N = 114					
preparations made for retirement	urban retirement		rural retirement		purchase area retirement		place of retirement unknown	
	M	K	M	K	M	K	M	K
property investment	2	12	43	26	4	6	1	-
savings	4	14	9	15	2	11	1	2
personal investment	1	-	3	-	2	-	2	1
no investment/								
savings	1	3	24	14	8	6	-	3
unspecified	-	-	2	1	-	-	-	-
	8	29	81	56	16	23	4	6

Continued

Table 10.12. Continued

projected source of income after retirement	Mufakose %	Kambuzuma %
urban savings	9,2	21,1
urban income	5,5	8,8
rural investment	-	0,9
rural income*	69,7	50,0
savings unspecified	1,8	0,9
income unspecified	1,8	3,5
urban savings and rural income	8,3	8,8
urban income and rural income	0,9	2,6
unspecified	2,8	3,5
	100,0	100,1
	N = 109	N = 114
M Mufakose K Kambuzuma		
* Rural income includes subsistence farming, farming and business.		

Of those with some ready conception of life after retirement the majority of Mufakose residents will retire to the rural home (74,3%), a few would like to stay in town (7,3%) or are undecided between a rural or urban retirement (4,6%). Quite a number choose to retire to a Purchase Area farm (13,8%).

In Kambuzuma slightly less than half of the respondents envisage retiring to the African tribal areas (49,1%), higher proportions would prefer to spend their retirement in town (25,4%), in the African Purchase Areas (20,2%) or are still undecided between urban or rural retirement (5,3%).

When respondents stop working in town their immediate families will follow them to wherever they choose to retire, hence more Mufakose than Kambuzuma families will be united in the rural areas. The number of cases where respondents' children are perceived as tomorrow's urban workers regardless of their parents' whereabouts is similar for the Mufakose and Kambuzuma samples.

Those who intend to retire to the African Purchase Areas expect their families will join them there. Presumably the Purchase Area farm will require all members of the family to join its labour force (cf. Cheater 1974).

In order to lend some substance to retirement plans, inquiries were made as to advance preparations. The proportion of respondents who have prepared for retirement is somewhat higher in the Kambuzuma sample than in the Mufakose one. Kambuzuma respondents have notably invested more in the urban areas and have some savings, whilst Mufakose efforts are directed to maintaining rights to a plot and/or a house in the country. It might be noted that Purchase area retirement appears to be less of a dream and more of a reality for Kambuzuma respondents in the respective category.

The majority of all respondents anticipate living on their rural income when they retire. This ranges from living off the land on a subsistence level to market gardening, cash-cropping, large-scale farming or a country retail business. Only a few persons expect to engage in jobbing in the rural areas. The most marked difference in this connection is that more Kambuzuma persons expect to live from their urban savings in retirement.

Rural-urban residence preference: Respondents in all samples were asked where they would like to make their permanent homes with their families. The gradation of urban choice percentages is 15,3, 19,3, and 38,7 in the direction Hostels to Kambuzuma samples. The difference between all samples is significant (cf. Table 10.13).¹¹⁾

- 11) Compare with results taken from earlier studies which generally support the 1975 Study trends.

Rural/urban residence preference. 1973 Hostels Study (Rhodesians only)	
"If you could have your family with you, would you prefer to live in town or the rural area?"	
preference	%
rural area	79,3
town	16,7
town conditional*	4,0
	100,0
	N = 347
don't know 2, non-response 8, n/a 1.	
* Respondents stipulate that their choice of residence in town should not entail a loss of contact with the rural area.	
Preferred residence for son. 1973 Hostels Study (Rhodesians only)	
"If or when you have a son, will he live in town or the rural area?"	
preference	%
rural area	71,8
town	13,4
both	7,4
choice up to son	7,4
	100,0
	N = 351
don't know 1, non-response 6.	

Choice of the rural area is made chiefly for traditional reasons, because the respondent resides or has his home there. Positive influence, control and socialization possibilities are greater in the rural area. - The town choice is associated with education and job opportunities, moreover town corresponds to the respondent's present residence.

11) Continued.

Rural/urban residence preference. 1973/74 Mufakose Study (Rhodesians only)	
"If you were given the opportunity, would you prefer to live with your family permanently in town or in the rural area?"	
preference	%
rural area	76,1
town	22,0
both: town during working life, rural area at retirement	1,9
	100,0
	N = 159
don't know 8, non-response 7	

The majority of respondents in the Mufakose 1973/74 survey would prefer to live in the rural area because one can lead a simple, basic, easy life there. Economic and security reasons are also prominent. The rural area is the traditional African home and the place of retirement, where there is an opportunity to work the land and to own property (referring to cattle and land, although tribal land is held on a usufructuary basis, cf. Chapter 4). Those expressing preference for town residence emphasize the education and job opportunities and the higher standard of living in town. Others state that they are presently working in town or that town has been their home from birth or by choice.

Table 10.13. 1975 Study			
Rural/urban residence preference			
Hostels: "If you could have your family with you would you prefer to live in town or in the rural area?"			
Townships: "If you were given the opportunity, would you prefer to live with your family permanently in town or in the rural area?"			
residence preference	Hostels %	Mufakose %	Kambuzuma %
rural	84,0	69,3	46,0
urban (conditional)	14,0 (1,3)	19,3	38,7
both	-	8,7	14,0
undecided	0,7	2,7	1,3
	100,0	100,0	100,0
	N = 150	N = 150	N = 150
reasons for rural/urban residence preference			
reason: urban choice		Mufakose	Kambuzuma
still working/young		5	6
urban standard of living		5	20
job, education facilities		5	11
proximity of family		2	-
house or property in town		-	3
independence		1	1
social preference		2	1
limitations in rural area (spatial)		4	-
town and country equally expensive		1	2
urbanized		1	12
self-evident		3	2
		29	58
reason: rural choice			
economic reasons		27	21
more freedom		4	6
quality/pace of life		3	7
preference for rural activities		-	2
cheaper, freer		1	4
security		19	5
desire to keep cattle/plough		4	2
only working in town		9	3
reference to political situation		3	1
socialization of children		1	2
social preference		-	1
no house in town		1	-
give younger generation opportunity to work in town		1	-
extra cash income		1	-
home, property, duty to parents in rural area		18	8
traditional reasons		11	4
self-evident		1	2
unqualified		-	1
		104	69

Continued

Table 10.13. Continued

reason: other	Mufakose	Kambuzuma
no choice	3	-
two homes/alternation	4	11
rural ties, but working in town	1	-
insecurity in town, but poor life in rural area	-	1
security of rural area today no longer valid	-	1
town today, rural area tomorrow	1	2
wherever job opportunities	-	1
unqualified	3	4
purchase area choice	5	3
	17	23

Qualifications for choices were requested from townsmen. Permanent rural residence is chosen chiefly for economic reasons. For many Mufakose residents the conception of the rural home and related aspects is very strong. Significantly, the security factor is linked to the notion of the rural home. This is less often the case with Kambuzuma home owners. - Aspects mentioned by respondents in both township samples are the greater freedom and the quality of life found in the rural areas.

The urban choice is made chiefly because the higher standard of living, education and job opportunities in town are appreciated. Some highly qualified persons say they cannot practise their professions or use their skills in the rural areas. Approximately one-fifth of persons choosing urban residence claim to be urbanized and have no or only few rural ties. Of those respondents who did not specifically choose either town or the tribal area, small numbers in both samples would prefer to alternate between town and country or would like to live in a purchase area.

Acceptability of town residence after retirement: When questioned if they had ever considered staying on in town after retirement, a significantly higher proportion of Kambuzuma than Mufakose respondents said they had. Some Kambuzuma respondents were undecided on this issue (cf. Table 10.14). As expected, the majority in both samples had not considered permanent residence in town chiefly for economic and security reasons.

Among those considering remaining in town the majority contemplate engaging in some sort of business. In Kambuzuma, respondents regard their purchase home, assets or both as an old age provision. Obviously, high tenure status and economic security are conducive to continued urban presence after retirement.

Table 10.14. 1975 Study

Acceptability of town residence after retirement (Townships)		
"Have you ever thought of staying on in town after retirement?"		
'yes' response: qualification	Mufakose	Kambuzuma
"If so, how would you go about it?"	%	%
urban business	4,7	8,7
owns or plans to own house (plot)	2,7	6,0
savings, pension, investment	0,7	3,3
owns house plus savings, pension, lodgers	-	2,7
lodgers	-	0,7
continue working	1,3	1,3
own house and continue working/business	-	0,7
savings and lodgers	-	0,7
depend on children	1,3	-
unqualified	1,3	8,0
	12,0	32,1
'undecided' response: qualification		
both town and rural area	-	2,7
town if house available	0,7	-
town if no purchase area farm available	-	1,3
town if house available and no purchase area farm available	0,7	-
town if urban business available	-	0,7
don't know	-	3,3
	1,4	8,0
'no' response: qualification		
"If not, for what reason(s)?"		
economic reasons	44,7	34,0
preference for rural life/easier, simpler, better life	9,3	7,3
security reasons	6,7	4,0
has home/property/business in rural area	6,0	2,0
greater freedom in rural area	2,7	1,3
economic and security reasons	0,7	0,7
forced to retire to rural area	2,7	-
other	0,7	1,3
unqualified, self-evident (including traditional reasons)	13,3	9,3
	86,8	59,9
	100,2	100,0
	N = 150	N = 150

Possibly economic security is the decisive factor in the eyes of urban Africans as suggested by typical remarks made by respondents regarding staying on in town after retirement to the effect that "if you have enough money, it is easy."

Conclusions: After studying the occupational histories for the three urban groups, Hostels, Mufakose and Kambuzuma, the conclusion is drawn, that contrary to conventional thinking, both job stability *and* mobility may be positively associated with stabilization. It is common practice for urban researchers to associate job stability with stabilization and to identify job mobility with career interruptions and return to the rural home. It is argued here, that job mobility need not necessarily lead to absence from town. Moreover, our data supports the notion that job mobility is one of the chief mechanisms for increasing income status, especially for the low education status groups. In terms of the theoretical framework outlined in Chapter 5, job mobility would affect stabilization indirectly through the income variable.

The review of migration histories shows that experience in other urban centres relates predominantly to step migration with migrants. With townsmen, sojourns in other urban centres are often part of the career pattern and might be more adequately equated with modern migration phenomena such as 'spiralling' (cf. Watson 1964).

The 1975 Study corroborates earlier findings pertaining to stabilization and urban commitment in Salisbury African Townships and supports the hypotheses set out at the beginning of this chapter. Migrants and townsmen alike are committed to urban residence during their working lives. This type of urban commitment has been referred to as temporary stabilization and constitutes the highest degree of stabilization possible under the given marginal condition of a quasi-stabilization policy. Thus, we might say that the so-called migrant has the makings of a townsman - at least in spirit.

Despite this similarity in outlook, survey migrants are definitely less stabilized and have had less urban experience than township dwellers when judged by standard indicators. (It will be remembered that the measurement of stabilization, in terms of the proportion of adult life spent in town, is somewhat problematic and age-dependent). The possibility exists that the migrant can gradually improve his stabilization score as he gets older. Nevertheless, the higher rate of urban career interruptions found in the migrant group speaks against a maximum improvement in hostel dwellers' stabilization scores, unless some increase in tenure status is achieved as well. The 1975 Study demonstrates that the threat presented by career interruptions to stabilization is weakened by increasing tenure status.

Both the Mufakose and Kambuzuma urban groups are equally stabilized; it is the difference in urban commitment which is most remarkable. When facing economic hardship in times of unemployment, when without a job after retirement, more Mufakose townsmen look to their rural homes for security than their Kambuzuma counterparts. Kambuzuma respondents express less rural dependence. Significantly, the rural residence preference of the Kambuzuma respondents often refers to the African purchase areas where land is held on an individual basis. In

their consistently higher commitment to continued urban presence, the higher tenure status group shows signs of permanent stabilization potential. Empirical evidence supports the hypothesis that the combined security of a purchase home and a relatively high socio-economic status enables the Kambuzuma townsman to exhibit greater urban commitment than his Mufakose neighbour.

CHAPTER 11.1975 SURVEY FINDINGS:
RURAL CONTACT DIFFERENTIALS.

In the previous Studies rural (home) visiting had been the focus of inquiry and by the time the 1975 survey was to be launched, sufficient knowledge on this topic had been accumulated to enable a concise and structured interrogation pertaining to strong rural contact variables.

The validity and usefulness of a typology of rural (home) visiting patterns, using the frequency parameter as chief distinguishing dimension, was first tested in the 1973 Hostels Study. The original hypothesis set up before inquiring into rural visiting patterns, was that persons with more contacts with the rural home and/or spending more time in the rural area would be less involved in urban life and less exposed to urban influence than other persons in town. We have since revised this original simple proposition by also considering factors such as the marginal conditions of rural dependence and quasi-stabilization policy as outlined in Chapter 5. In the earlier studies it could be shown that frequency of rural visits per year is closely associated with time spent in the rural areas per year (this relationship is not necessarily obvious, because frequent visits occur over weekends, whereas the single annual leave visit may last for three to four weeks).

Using visits to the rural area as unit of analysis, the distinction between regular (more frequent) and occasional (less frequent) type visits could be demonstrated first for migrant in the 1973 Hostels Study and later for townsmen rural visiting patterns in the 1973/74 Mufakose Study (cf. Table 11.1).

It was then found that the same distinction between regular and occasional visiting could be applied to persons, because little overlap between the two frequency categories occurred. At the most, 'occasional' type visits might be interspersed between 'regular' type visits in a person's annual visiting record. The typology developed for individuals refers to the categories of non-visitors,¹⁾ occasional visitors and regular visitors.

1) It has been brought to my attention, that the designation 'non-visitor' might be considered a misnomer. I do not regard it as such. 'Non-visiting' and 'non-visitors' are easily identified as categories pertaining to the rural visiting variable. The non-visiting category is derived from visiting as a 'no-observation' category, which using conventional notation is written as 'non-A' = no observation (as against A = observation).

Table 11.1. 1973 Hostels Study, 1973/74 Mufakose Study			
Mean values for rural visiting parameters (one year total)			
visiting parameter		total OCCASIONAL visits	total REGULAR visits
total number visits per year	H	2,8 trips	18,0 trips
	M	2,4 trips	25,9 trips
total visiting time per year	H	26,3 days	34,4 days
	M	24,6 days	52,0 days
total mileage (one-way trip) per year	H	278,6 miles	1 436,6 miles
	M	337 miles	1 762 miles
total cost (one-way trip) per year	H	\$3,7	\$13,7
	M	\$4,7	\$22,6
H 1973 Hostels Study M 1973/74 Mufakose Study (cf. Møller 1973:78; 1974c:79).			

Non-visitors: Persons who do not visit the rural areas at all.

Occasional visitors: Persons who visit the rural areas on one or more occasions during the year but not according to a preconceived interval plan.

Regular visitors: Persons who visit the rural areas at regular weekly, fortnightly or monthly intervals during the year. - Regular visitors also tend to make visits outside the regular visiting pattern.

Consistent with earlier findings we can relate rural visitor type to the following characteristics of urban groups:

<u>visitor type</u>	<u>related to characteristics of urban groups</u>
non-visitor	Long distance of rural home to urban centre, foreign nationality, permanent stabilization commitment.
occasional visitor	Distance of rural home to urban centre irrelevant, ²⁾ Rhodesian nationality, temporary stabilization commitment.

- 2) It is interesting to note that distance presents no barrier to visiting Rhodesian Africans if an annual rural contact must be made, as is the case under quasi-stabilization conditions. It has been observed, that migrants from abroad tend to space their visits because of the distance and cost involved in home visiting. In their case the rural home might be visited once every three to five years. Due to the assessment of visitor type according to visiting behaviour exhibited in the year preceding the interview date, such persons may be classified as non-visitors for purposes of the survey.

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regular visitor Short distance of rural home to urban centre, (cf. Caldwell 1969:141; Mbata 1960; Mayer 1962; Mitchell 1973), Rhodesian nationality, dis-equilibrium between marital and tenure status.

In the urban surveys adherence to visiting types was assessed by reviewing all rural visits made by a person in the year preceding the interview date.

The *regular* visiting pattern was found to be more characteristic of *migrants*, the *occasional* visiting pattern more characteristic of *townsmen*, but both patterns were detected in the visiting behaviour of respondents to the 1973 Hostels and the 1973/74 Mufakose surveys.

As mentioned earlier in this study, rural visiting by in-migrants is considered one of the chief characteristics of African rural-urban migration. The notion that urban Africans retain their rural contacts even if permanently stabilized is also widespread among students of African migration. Whilst frequent regular visiting is attributed to marginal urban groups as regards tenure, family status (i.e. family domicile) and socio-economic status; the annual visit has been considered the minimum visiting frequency for all urban dwellers not wishing to offend those left behind in the village (Caldwell 1969: 141). It is therefore proposed that if a person residing in town desires to maintain rural contact, at least one annual home visit is called for.

Using visits as the unit of analysis, evidence of minimum annual visits could be traced very clearly in the 1973 Hostels data. All districts of origin had in the past year received at least one or more occasional visits from urban labourers recruited from them. When districts visited occasionally were entered into a map of Rhodesia, the shaded areas were almost identical to those shaded in the map denoting districts of origin of respondents (cf. Figure 9). All districts receiving regular visits from their migrants in town were located nearer to Salisbury. The same exercise was undertaken for the 1973/74 Mufakose data with similar results. Due to the greater variation in the destinations selected by Mufakose visitors a few districts other than home districts were also marked as receiving occasional visits.

One of the most telling observations in the 1973/74 Mufakose Study is that, subsequent to transition from migrant to townsman, tenure status and family status must be equilibrated before visiting patterns change. For example it was discovered that former Hostel migrants assumed the visiting pattern of townsmen, (that is did not differ notably in their visiting behaviour from other Mufakose townsmen), if they adopted a townsman's lifestyle and brought their families to town with them. On the other hand, a higher proportion of Mufakose respondents living in a bachelor situation although married, comparable to that of hostel dwellers, followed the *regular* visiting pattern characteristic of migrants to town (cf. Tables 11.2 and 11.3). Thus it was concluded that tenure status alone *can*, but does not necessarily, determine rural contact frequency.

Table 11.2. 1973/74 Mufakose Study

Visitor type by total and subsection of sample

visitor type	former Harare Hostel residents in Mufakose sample	total Mufakose sample	
non-visitor	13	89	102
occasional	22	114	136
regular	8	69	77
	43	272	315

chi square = 1,48, 2 d.f., $p < .50$, insignificant.
(cf. Møller 1974c:70).

Table 11.3. 1973/74 Mufakose Study

Visitor type by total and subsection of sample

visitor type	married 'bachelors' in Mufakose sample	total Mufakose sample	
non-visitor	2	89	91
occasional	12	114	126
regular	21	69	90
	35	272	307

chi square = 20,7, 2 d.f., $p < .001$, significant.
(cf. Møller 1974c:70).

In the 1973 Hostels Study the visiting roles of hostel dwellers and their wives had been referred to as *complementary* (cf. Møller 1974a), because the chief visiting role falls on the one marriage partner, namely on the circulating migrant (cf. Table 11.10 and footnote 8). In urban households where both spouses are domiciled in town, it was hypothesized that husband and wife tend to exhibit *corresponding* visiting habits as far as frequency and time are concerned. It was thought that the volume of rural contact maintained by *both* spouses would be greater in rurally dependent families than in more urban committed families.

Tentative support of correspondence between townsmen's and their wives' visiting patterns is given in the Mufakose 1973/74 data (cf. Tables 11.4 and 11.5), but the dissimilarity of male and female visiting patterns renders adequate assessment difficult. Moreover, the strongest evidence for low frequency correspondence is provided by the large proportion of foreign born respondents in the 1973/74 Mufakose sample.

Table 11.4. 1973/74 Mufakose Study

Rural visiting frequency of respondents and their wives in previous year

number of visits	by wife							R	
	0	1	2	3	4	5+			
0	65	12	4					2	83
1	8	27	5	1	1			1	43
2	3	6	10	3				1	23
3	1	7	4	7					19
4	1	6	1	2	3				13
5	1	1	1						
R	4	9	11	7	5	3	4		43
	83	68	36	20	9	3	8		227

R regular visits
(cf. Møller 1974c:60).

Table 11.5. 1973/74 Mufakose Study

Time spent visiting in rural area by respondents and their wives in previous year

time in months	by wife											R		
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10			11
0	113	7	1	6	3	6	3	6	2		1	1	3	152
1	7	11	1	1			2	1	1	1			1	26
2+	1		4		1									6
R	6	2	3	4	3	5	6	4	2	1	3		4	43
	127	20	9	11	7	11	11	11	5	2	4	1	8	227

R regular visits

Time spent visiting in rural area by respondents and their wives in previous year

by respondent	time	by wife			
		low	medium	high	
	low	113	17	19	149
	high	14	30	26	70
		127	47	45	219

chi square = 61.3, 2 d.f., $p < .001$, significant.
(cf. Møller 1974c:61-62).

Due to the dissimilarity of visiting patterns of urban household members, it proved necessary to devise some sort of family visiting pattern. A differentiation of visiting subpatterns (Møller 1974:28ff.) was therefore made which also accounted for the positive correlation between time and frequency parameters in the male visiting pattern.

Visiting subpatterns:

The urban subpattern: is typically followed by males in urban employment. It is characterized by short, frequent visits. The chief determinant of the urban subpattern is the rhythm of employment in the labour centre. Rural visiting is thus completely compatible with a high urban commitment. 1973 Hostels and 1973/74 Mufakose survey results show that both migrants and townsmen formally employed in town follow the urban visiting subpattern.

The rural subpattern: is dictated by the agricultural seasons and is incompatible with a continuous urban presence. The rural subpattern is peculiar to the female visitor category in the first instance. It is characterized by one or two long visits of several months duration.

The school subpattern: is peculiar to school children attending boarding school during three annual terms.

A certain interdependence between the visiting subpatterns of household members is observed in the 1973/74 Mufakose Study as indicated in the diagram below.

Composition of urban African visiting patterns:

		<u>visiting subpattern</u>		
		'urban'	'rural'	'school'
visitor category	man	X		
	woman	X	X	
	child	X	X	X

The urban subpattern is independent, determined primarily by formal employment in town. The female visiting pattern, although radically different from that of the male one, includes some typically male pattern elements. This is largely due to joint travel of spouses on short holiday weekends. The juvenile pattern is rhythmically more similar to the female pattern but follows the male and female pattern in specific moments. School children attending school in town may accompany one or both parents over short holidays and thus follow the urban subpattern. Pre-school children often accompany their mothers for longer visits during the growing season and thus follow the rural subpattern.

In the male visiting pattern the correspondence between visiting frequency and time spent visiting is a direct consequence of the fact that all urban males, migrants and townsmen, follow a visiting pattern composed of a single subpattern. For women and children, visiting frequency gives little indication of the time spent visiting because of the composite nature of their visiting patterns.

One of the main conclusions reached is that the male visiting pattern, regardless of its emphasis, is conducive to stabilization, in that no career interruption need occur whilst maintaining the necessary rural contact.³⁾ Working indirectly through the stabilization variable, the male visiting pattern is likely to effect social mobility in town, in terms of mobility on occupation, income and tenure status lines. Again this may seem a somewhat trite argument, but seen in the perspective of migration research in Africa, it gains significance. Target workers of yesterday could not maintain rural contacts without interrupting their urban careers and were thus doomed to a marginal urban position for their entire lives. It is true that the improvement of the communication network has vastly contributed to the ease and frequency with which contacts can be made. Early migration studies describe how African labour covered the distance of several hundred kilometres from the rural home to the labour centre on foot.

It has also been contended that the quasi-stabilization system works only as long as the rural (home) visiting mechanism functions adequately (cf. also Wilson's (1972a) idea of bolstering the push-pull forces in Chapter 2). We are once again confronted with a kind of chicken and egg question. Are rural contacts maintained after taking up residence in town because permanent stabilization is not aspired to, that is voluntarily; or is home visiting resorted to out of necessity for security reasons (low tenure and socio-economic status) closely associated to the marginal conditions imposed upon Africans residing in town in general?

To better demonstrate the significance of the home-visiting mechanism for stabilization under quasi-stabilization conditions, consider

-
- 3) One might suggest in the sense of the government of migration (Heisler 1974) that if the rural communication network is extended it will boost balanced or quasi-stabilization, and promote an urban *working* population as against an *urban* population, for which housing provisions are at present still inadequate.

that the communications network were to break down.⁴⁾ Would migrants of the 'temporary stabilization' persuasion stay in town or would they retire prematurely to the rural areas to be united with their next of kin and establish a position in tribal society which might otherwise be forfeited due to loss of contact? Either way, the migrant is on the losing side; he is deprived either of his additional urban income or of his kinship ties. According to some observers the former cannot be dispensed with by Africans in heavily populated areas, who cannot extract sufficient food from the soil to cover subsistence needs.

To summarize expectations concerning rural contacts in the 1975 Study: we consider rural (home) visiting and remittances as a means of maintaining rural contact which is considered essential to urban dwellers during the temporary stabilization phase. During the permanent stabilization phase rural ties may dwindle⁵⁾ or be cut completely without the immigrant suffering from insecurity in town. In the previous chapters all findings point to a 'temporary stabilization' commitment in the three urban survey groups and signs of 'permanent stabilization' commitment are detected in the townships samples, most notably in the Kambuzuma sample. Consistently, we expect a decrease in rural contacts to occur in the direction of the migrant to townsmen samples, and the decrease should be most distinct in the Kambuzuma sample. Under quasi-stabilization conditions complete severance of rural ties is not expected.

Respondent's rural visiting pattern: Virtually all hostel dwellers visit their rural homes. In the townships samples a small percentage did not visit the rural area in the past year, indicating that some townsmen no longer maintain ties with the tribal home (cf. Table 11.6).

-
- 4) A similar idea was put forward in the 1973 Hostels Study and since this time the oil crisis and the increasing economic isolation of Rhodesia have had their impact on the efficiency of the communication system.
- 5) Diminishing rural contact has been observed in Salisbury's older, more established African townships. May (1973:10) notes that nearly 20 per cent of adult males in her Highfield sub-sample had not returned home in the past year, and that two-fifths of these stated they never went home. Stopforth (1971:24) likewise writes that 20 per cent of the Highfield adult population had not visited the rural area at all during the preceding year. Seventeen, one per cent had spent one period of more than a week and 6,4 per cent one period of less than a week in the rural area. Stopforth concludes that 43,6 per cent of the Highfield adult population have, in terms of a past situation, diminishing contact with the rural area.

Weekly and fortnightly rural visits are more common in the Mufakose than the Kambuzuma sample. It is interesting to note that a higher proportion of Mufakose car owners are regular as opposed to occasional visitors. This regularity does not hold for the Kambuzuma sample. Previous research has provided ample evidence for the importance of the long-distance bus network for urban Africans visiting the rural area (cf. Møller 1973:63, 73ff.; 1974c:71).

Table 11.6. 1975 Study								
Respondent's rural visiting pattern								
"How often did you go to the rural area (home) in the past year?"								
visiting pattern	Hostels (total)		Hostels (married men)		Mufakose		Kambuzuma	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
NON-VISITOR:								
never went home	0,7	0,7	-	-	6,0	6,0	6,7	6,7
OCCASIONAL VISITOR:								
holiday visits								
only	40,0		30,1		8,7		18,0	
leave visits only	2,0		1,2		14,0		14,0	
holiday and leave visits	4,7		4,8		18,7		16,7	
unspecified	5,3	52,0	6,0	42,2	9,3	50,7	10,7	59,3
REGULAR VISITOR:								
unspecified	8,0		7,2		4,7		4,0	
monthly	16,0		16,9		13,3		14,0	
fortnightly	14,7		20,5		8,7		6,0	
weekly	8,7	47,3	13,3	57,8	16,7	43,3	10,0	34,0
	100,1	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,1	100,0	100,1	100,0
	N = 150		N = 83		N = 150		N = 150	

Within the Hostels sample married men tend to visit more regularly than single men (this difference is significant and confirms findings made in the past). When comparing married men's visiting patterns the trend to reduce rural visiting persists in the proposed direction from the Hostels to the Kambuzuma sample. The significant chi square value for Table 11.7 is due mainly to the difference between hostel dwellers' and townsmen's visiting patterns. The highest proportion of occasional and non-visitors is found in Kambuzuma.

Table 11.7. 1975 Study			
Rural visiting patterns (married respondents only)			
	Hostels %	Mufakose %	Kambuzuma %
occasional and non-visitors	42,0	57,0	66,0
regular visitors	58,0	43,0	34,0
	100,0	100,0	100,0
	N = 83	N = 150	N = 150

chi square = 12,4, 2 d.f., p < .01.

Table 11.8. 1973 Hostels Study, 1973/74 Mufakose Study, 1975 Study				
Comparative percentages of visitor types in urban studies samples and subsections				
visitor type	1973 Hostels Total %	1973 Hostels married Total %	1973 Hostels single Total %	1973 Hostels Rhodesians %
non-visitor	9,9	6,7	13,3	4,8
occasional	48,5	39,5	60,6	50,0
regular	41,6	53,8	26,1	45,2
	100,0 N = 392	100,0 N = 223	100,0 N = 165	100,0 N = 356
visitor type	1973 Hostels married Rhodesians	1973 Hostels single Rhodesians	73/74 Mufakose Total ^a	73/74 Mufakose Rhodesians ^a
non-visitor	3,8	6,1	32,7	12,1
occasional	39,7	64,6	41,9	51,7
regular	56,5	29,3	25,4	36,2
	100,0 N = 209	100,0 N = 147	100,0 N = 272	100,0 N = 174
visitor type	1975 Hostels Total ^b	1975 Hostels married ^b	1975 Mufakose Total ^c	1975 Kambuzuma Total ^c
non-visitor	0,7	0,0	6,0	6,7
occasional	52,0	42,2	50,7	59,3
regular	47,3	57,8	43,3	34,0
	100,0 N = 150	100,0 N = 83	100,0 N = 150	100,0 N = 150

a with singular exceptions married
b by definition Rhodesian
c by definition Rhodesian and married

The trend for visiting frequency to decrease with increasing tenure and marital status is supported by the findings of earlier studies set out in Table 11.8.

At this point it might be informative to discuss the results of an exercise undertaken early in 1974 (Møller 1974a) to determine visiting pattern differentials between township samples. Parameters employed were frequency of visits per year and time spent visiting in the rural area per year. The initially adopted working hypothesis stated that migrants would exhibit more intensive rural visiting behaviour than townsfolk, and that among townsfolk, those with higher tenure status (that is those living in home-ownership schemes) would visit less intensively than other townsfolk. Data pertaining to adult males and females in the Townships Dzivaresekwa, Highfield and Kambuzuma, and adult males in the Harare Hostels were compared.⁶⁾

The results of a first exercise showed that rural visiting volume (frequency and time parameters) decreased in the order of the Highfield, Dzivaresekwa, Kambuzuma and Hostels samples. It was concluded, that the more stabilized a township population, the less intensive its rural contacts. In a second exercise a further distinction was made between Highfield family members living in rented and home-ownership accommodation. This distinction was not reflected in the visiting behaviour of the two groups and the findings were not published.

Reviewing the results of these two exercises today, Highfield's low visiting intensity is most probably accounted for by its well established population. The same may apply for Dzivaresekwa, moreover the high proportion of domestic workers with little leisure time will inhibit intensive visiting. The close proximity, as regards visiting behaviour, of the Kambuzuma to the Hostels sample could not be adequately explained at the time the exercise was undertaken. Visiting pattern similarity was explained by the relatively young age of Kambuzuma residents and the fact that they had only recently been established in their township homes. Indeed some residents were still in the process of extending the core units at the time of the 1970/71 survey.

In retrospect, the results of these exercises seem less puzzling. Past interpretations are still valid today, but the inclusion of additional factors will greatly improve the conclusive arguments.

6) The Harare Hostels data refers to the 1974 Hostels Study. The Townships data refers to a replicated sociological survey undertaken by Peter Stopforth in 1970-71. The unpublished material was kindly put at my disposal for purposes of the exercise.

Firstly, both Highfield and Dzivaresekwa Townships have large proportions of foreign born residents⁷⁾ in their populations and foreign persons will decrease the values of township visiting frequency statistics substantially (Møller 1974b;1974d). By contrast, Harare Hostels and Kambuzuma Township contain very small proportions of foreigners. It is therefore not surprising that the 'Kambuzuma' and 'Hostels' visiting patterns appeared very similar in connection with the first exercise.

Secondly, when comparing visiting patterns, groups must be carefully separated according to marital and possibly residential status in order to make comparison meaningful (e.g. as in Table 11.8). If more closely matched groups, such as married household heads living in rented and home-ownership accommodation, had been compared in the second exercise, the results might have been similar to the 1975 Study findings concerning visiting patterns.

Accompaniment on rural visits by wives and children: It has been suggested that joint family travel is increasing (Møller 1974), especially over holiday weekends, when all members of the family residing in town are free from work or school. The trends may be influenced by the increasing number of complete elementary families living in town.⁸⁾ Table 11.9 shows that half of the township wives accompany their spouses on rural visits. They predominantly join their husbands on occasional visits to the rural home.

Only 8,7 and 5,3 per cent of the wives of Mufakose and Kambuzuma respondents respectively accompany their spouses on regular rural visits. A similar picture emerges for children. No differences are observed between township samples.

It was further assumed that wives residing in the rural areas permanently or spending the agricultural season there would be excluded from accompanying their spouses on rural visits (cf. Møller 1974).

7) May (1973:9) quotes 27 per cent foreign born for her Highfield sub-sample. A percentage of 13,3 foreign born among first generation Highfield residents can be calculated from Stopforth's (1971:29) description of his 1971 Highfield sample. Stopforth also notes that the second largest recruitment area for second generation urbanites in Highfield is from across the Rhodesian border, notably South Africa. Chavunduka (1972:69-70) found that 24 of 60 (40%) male sample parents originated from abroad in a social survey conducted in Dzivaresekwa in 1966-67. Sixty-three, three per cent of the sample parents had been in towns for more than ten years.

8) May (1973:10) writes that social workers in townships are observing a change in the seasonal visiting pattern of women, especially in better-off families.

Table 11.9. 1975 Study

Accompaniment on rural visits by wives and children (Townships)

accompaniment	Mufakose wives		Kambuzuma wives		Mufakose children		Kambuzuma children	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
NO ACCOMPANIMENT:	54,0	54,0	51,3	51,3	54,0	54,0	50,7	50,7
<u>OCCASIONAL ACCOMPANIMENT:</u>								
holiday visits	7,3		10,7		6,0		10,7	
leave visits	8,7		10,0		9,3		10,0	
holiday and leave	12,7		9,3		12,7		8,7	
unspecified	6,7	35,3	10,7	40,7	4,0	32,0	12,0	41,3
<u>REGULAR ACCOMPANIMENT:</u>								
unspecified	0,7		2,0		2,0		0,7	
monthly	2,7		-		2,0		2,7	
fortnightly	1,3		2,7		1,3		-	
weekly	4,0	8,7	0,7	5,3	5,3	10,7	2,0	5,3
no information	98,1	98,0	97,4	97,3	96,6	96,7	97,5	97,3
		2,0		2,7		3,3		2,7
		100,0		100,0		100,0		100,0
		N = 150		N = 150		N = 150		N = 150

Table 11.10. 1975 Study

Wife's urban visiting pattern (Hostels)

"Does your wife visit you in town? How often?"

urban visiting pattern	%	%
non-visitor	44,3	44,3
occasional visitor	45,6	
in emergency cases	5,1	
long occasional visitor (3 months visit)	2,5	53,2
regular visitor	2,5	
urban residence	-	2,5
	100,0	100,0
	N = 79	
n/a, single respondents		70
no information		1

However, some respondents insisted that their wives interrupted the rural sojourn shortly before holidays or leave, spent some time in town and then accompanied them back to the rural home.

Wife's urban visiting pattern: It has been contended that married migrants living as bachelors in town assume the chief visiting role in their families.⁹⁾ This proposition is confirmed by the present survey findings (cf. Table 11.10).

It is difficult for married hostel dwellers to provide accommodation for their visiting wives unless they have relatives living in a township. Just over half of the hostel dwelling respondents receive visits from their wives in town. In a few cases the wife stays with relatives for a few months. Four respondents said their wives only came to town in cases of emergency; for example, when a member of the family is ill. Only two wives visit town regularly.

Wife's rural visiting pattern: According to our respondents, just over one-fourth of wives in both townships reside in the rural areas (reference to past year); the majority of them visit town (cf. Table 11.11).¹⁰⁾

9) 1973 Hostels Study findings support this contention.

<u>Incidence of visiting wives of respondents</u> 1973 Hostels Study (Total)	
cases where	%
wife visits town	67,1
wife does not visit town	32,9
	100,0
	N= 222
non-response	1
<u>Residence of visiting wives in town</u> 1973 Hostels Study (Total)	
residence	%
township with a relative	49,7
township with a friend	9,4
township as a lodger	12,1
township with no specifications	16,8
Carter House transient hostel	4,0
squatting	2,7
other	5,4
	100,1
	N= 149
don't know	1

10) This compares favourably with 1973/74 Mufakose findings.

<u>Incidence of wife visiting town in cases where wife habitually resides in the rural area. 1973/74 Mufakose Study (Rhodesians)</u>	
	%
yes	92,6
no	7,4
	100,0
	N = 54
n/a	118

Table 11.11. 1975 Study					
Wife's rural visiting pattern (Townships)					
(reference to year prior to interview)					
rural visiting pattern	Mufakose		Kambuzuma		
	%	%	%	%	
A wife lived in the rural area and - unspecified - did not visit town - visited town	1,3		-		
	2,7	23,3	0,7	23,3	
	19,3		22,7		
B wife spent the agricultural season in the rural area - whole season - part of season	19,3		16,0		
	12,7	32,0	8,7	24,7	
C wife visited the rural area on other occasions	33,3	33,3	46,0	46,0	
D wife did not visit the rural area	10,7	10,7	6,0	6,0	
	99,3	99,3	100,1	100,0	
not applicable	0,7	0,7			
	100,0	100,0			
	N = 150		N = 150		

A slightly higher percentage of Mufakose than Kambuzuma wives spent all or part of the agricultural season of the previous year in the rural areas, and slightly more Mufakose than Kambuzuma wives stayed in town in the past year. The last category includes some cases where the rural home has been moved to so-called protected villages. Some wives whose rural homes had been relocated preferred to stay in town.

It has been maintained above that only occasional rural visiting is compatible with urban employment. The higher proportion of Kambuzuma wives in the occasional visiting category is consistent with the observation that more Kambuzuma than Mufakose wives hold down jobs in town (cf. Table 7.4 in Chapter 7).

However, the overall difference between Mufakose and Kambuzuma wives' visiting patterns is not significant.

The majority of townswomen stay in the rural areas for the entire agricultural season if they visit seasonally (category B on Table 11.11). In the seasonal visitor group, a larger proportion of Mufakose women go for two periods, usually at the beginning and end of the rainy season (cf. Table 11.12). This is reflected in the number of months spent in the rural areas.

Table 11.12. 1975 Study				
Details of wife's rural visiting pattern (Townships)				
(reference to wives visiting the rural area during part or all of the agricultural season, category B).				
wife in the rural area during seasons:		Mufakose		Kambuzuma
		%		%
ploughing/sowing		4,2		5,4
weeding		4,2		-
harvesting		-		-
two of the above seasons		22,9		8,1
whole agricultural season		68,8		86,5
		100,1		100,0
duration of rural visit in months				
1				2,1
2				-
3				8,3
4				2,7
5				6,3
6				2,7
7	mean	Mufakose	Kambuzuma	6,3
8		6,5	6,6	8,1
9	median	7	7	5,4
				10,4
				2,1
				27,0
				20,8
				21,6
				16,7
				16,2
				27,1
				16,2
				100,1
				99,9
accompaniment by				
pre-school children				47,9
school children				56,8
both				2,1
none				10,8
				41,7
				24,3
				6,3
				8,1
				98,0
				100,0
no information				
				2,1
				100,1
				N = 48
				N = 37

Quite a number of Mufakose women spend less than four months in the rural areas, whereas most Kambuzuma women spend six months or more in the rural areas. The median is identical for both samples with seven months absence from town.

In the majority of cases pre-school children and/or school children accompany the mother when she returns to the rural area during the summer months.

Cash remittances: Remittance behaviour is included in this chapter because it serves a purpose similar to rural (home) visiting. The close empirical as well as functional relationship between visiting and remittance frequency found both in the 1973 Hostels and the 1973/74 Mufakose Study makes the introduction of the higher order concept of 'rural contact' feasible.

Incidences of rural (home) visiting and cash remittance may be considered indicators of rural contact (cf. Adepoju 1974:394).

Table 11.13. 1975 Study			
Cash remittances			
"Do you send or take money home? How often?"			
remittance pattern	Hostels %	Mufakose %	Kambuzuma %
non-remitter	2,7	14,0	9,3
occasional remitter	30,0	18,7	38,0
regular remitter	67,3	63,3	50,7
unspecified, no information	100,0	96,0	98,0
	N = 150	100,0 N = 150	100,0 N = 150
"How much do you usually send or take home at one time?"			
amount in \$	Hostels %	Mufakose %	Kambuzuma %
0 - 4	20,3	15,3	7,0
5 - 9	30,1	19,4	12,5
10 - 14	31,5	37,9	32,8
15 - 19	9,1	3,2	9,4
20 - 24	4,9	12,1	21,9
25 - 29	0,7	0,8	2,3
30 - 34	2,8	4,8	8,6
35 - 39	-	-	-
40+	0,7	6,5	5,5
n/a, no information	100,1 N = 143	100,0 N = 124	100,0 N = 129
	7	26	22
amount remitted in dollars by sample			
remittance pattern	Hostels	Mufakose	Kambuzuma
occasional remitters:			
mean	12,5	21,3	18,2
median	10	20	12
regular remitters:			
mean	8,5	12,0	16,3
median	8	11	13

Table 11.14. 1975 Study

Cash remittance: percentage of income remitted by income group (Hostels)

percentage remitted	income group (monthly wage in \$)										total	
	-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-54	55+	N	%	
- 4	-	-	-	1	2	2	1	1	1	8	5,9	
5 - 9	-	-	1	7	5	3	1	1	2	20	14,7	
10 - 14	-	1	-	8	4	5	3	1	3	25	18,4	
15 - 19	1	1	1	6	3	4	2	3	4	25	18,4	
20 - 24	-	2	1	-	-	5	2	1	1	15	11,0	
25 - 29	-	-	1	2	3	4	1	1	1	11	8,1	
30 - 34	-	2	-	3	1	3	2	-	1	11	8,1	
35 - 39	-	-	1	-	-	1	1	3	1	8	5,9	
40 - 44	-	-	1	2	1	1	2	-	-	6	4,4	
45 - 49	-	-	-	2	-	1	-	-	1	4	2,9	
50 - 54	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
55 - 59	-	-	-	1	-	1	1	-	-	3	2,2	
	1	6	6	32	19	30	16	11	15	136	100,0	
insufficient information			3	1	1	2	1		1	9		
n/a	1			1	1		1		1	5		
median: 18% of income												

In earlier research it was discovered that remittances are not substituted for home visits and remitting often coincides with visiting. It is customary for visitors to bring gifts in cash or kind to their kin in the rural area, and visiting and remittance frequency are highly correlated partly for this reason.¹¹⁾

In the 1975 survey high proportions of all samples claim to remit cash to the rural areas (cf. Table 11.13). The proportion of non-remitters increases in the townships samples. Again, some persons whose rural homesteads have been moved to protected villages, are included in this group.

11) Both visiting and remittance frequency vary inversely with distance. A similar observation is made by Caldwell in Ghana (1969:155), cf. also Kay (1964). Adepoju's (1974) urban migration survey material from Nigeria suggests that the inverse relationship between distance and remittances is possibly stronger than the one between distance and visiting.

There is a trend of decreasing remittance frequency from the Hostels to the Kambuzuma sample. The differences between all samples are significant.¹²⁾ Married hostel dwellers remit significantly more frequently than single migrants ($CC = ,28, p < .001$).

12) This trend is confirmed in earlier studies.

Remittances 1973 Hostels Study (Rhodesians)

"Do you send or take money home?"

response	%
yes	90,7
no	9,3
	100,0

N = 353

n/a 1, non-response 4

Frequency of remittances 1973 Hostels Study (Rhodesians)

remittances made	%
weekly	6,0
every two weeks	11,4
every three weeks	1,3
every month	53,5
bimonthly	7,0
yearly	0,9
irregularly	19,9
	100,0

N = 316

n/a 34, non-response 5, don't know 3.

Incidence of remittances 1973/74 Mufakose Study (Rhodesians)

"Do you send or take money home?"

response	%
yes	87,7
no	12,3
	100,0

N = 171

n/a 1, non-response 2.

Remittance frequency 1973/74 Mufakose Study (Rhodesians)

frequency	%
weekly	6,8
fortnightly	6,8
monthly	42,9
bimonthly	5,4
irregularly	38,1
	100,0

N = 147

don't know 1, non-response 2, n/a 24.

The amounts remitted vary greatly. There is a tendency for regular remitters to send or take smaller amounts to the rural areas at one time. This finding is consistent with those of previous surveys.

Cash remittances, percentage of income remitted: An attempt to estimate the percentage of wages remitted by the migrant group was made. The majority of the Hostels sample remit between 5 and 20 per cent of their wages (cf. Table 11.14). The median is estimated at 18 per cent. The breakdown by monthly income does not reveal that the absolute level of earnings has any influence on the relative amounts remitted. Married men send a slightly higher percentage of their wage packets home to their families than single men (CC = ,17, $p < .05$).

Remittance purpose: Mufakose remittances are usually sent to the family of procreation, the wife and children living in the rural areas, for their cash needs (cf. Table 11.15). Some of the urban-rural cash flow is intended for the maintenance of rural property. In Kambuzuma remittances normally go *either* to the family of procreation *or* to the family of origin (one or both parents).

Table 11.15. 1975 Study

Remittance purpose (Townships)

"For what purpose?" (do you send or take home money).

remittance	Mufakose %	Kambuzuma %
goes to family of procreation	52,3	42,7
goes to family of origin	11,7	35,3
goes to family, unspecified	3,9	5,2
goes for investment	2,3	2,9
goes for property maintenance	14,1	3,7
goes to family and for investment and/or property maintenance	7,8	3,7
goes to relatives	3,1	2,9
goes for special purposes (upon request)	3,9	2,9
unspecified	0,8	0,7
	99,9	100,0
	N = 128	N = 136
n/a	22	14

Regular remittances are usually intended for the family of procreation, occasional remittances for the family of origin. This trend is more pronounced in the Kambuzuma sample. Consider that Kambuzuma occasional remitters send back relatively small sums predominantly to their parents. This suggests that their remittance behaviour might be interpreted as a token gesture of courtesy. In Mufakose the concern for the rural home and the maintenance of the family residing there appears to be greater.

To *conclude* this chapter on rural contacts, we can state that the 1975 Study findings confirm trends detected in earlier urban studies and support the hypothesis that rural contacts decrease with increasing tenure status in town. Minimal rural contact is thought to be retained by urban groups occupying higher tenure positions more for sentimental than for economic security reasons. In the 1975 survey findings there is evidence that a majority of migrants and townsmen maintain contact with the rural areas in the form of visits and remittances. These contacts are most pronounced among hostel dwellers, especially among married men. Among township dwellers there is a core of extremely rural-tied families. In these families the wife and children spend over half of the year at the rural home and remittances help support them there. A group of urban families with only token ties to the rural home appears emergent in Salisbury's African townships. This phenomenon of town-rootedness is somewhat more pronounced in Kambuzuma than in Mufakose township.

CHAPTER 12.

1975 SURVEY FINDINGS:
INVESTMENT IN TOWN AND COUNTRY.

In the preceding chapter the allocation of time between town and country was the focus of study. In this chapter we shall inquire into the investments made in terms of capital and property at the urban and rural poles by our three survey groups. When observing investment behaviour, we are essentially assessing the differential push-pull force constellations relating to security factors for the three urban groups. It is assumed that investments made either in town and/or in the country reinforce the already existing 'security' pull force emanating from one or the other pole. Analogously, the planning of future investment in town or country implies a future polarization of these forces along security lines. If investment in town or country is regarded as involvement in one or the other context, it is also an indication of commitment to a particular place, where a person's continued presence is anticipated. We have seen that whilst urban commitment is usually related to the present time, rural commitment more often concerns a future commitment commencing at retirement age.

Although the concept of immovable property has only recently been introduced into African society, claims to land and a home on a usufructuary basis have been customary in the past (cf. Chapter 4). Consequently, a certain effort to continuously legitimize the claim to tribal land is required from tribesmen even when they are absent from the rural areas whilst working in town. The *home-visiting mechanism* represents one such means of legitimizing rural tenure status, alternatively some urban workers leave family members behind at the rural home. Students of migration have also referred to *remittances* as the absentee villager's insurance premium in the cases of illness, unemployment and old age. We might say that rural land rights act as an incentive to invest in rural security, and rural contacts are instrumental in this respect. At the same time, the 'home visiting solution' to maintaining rural contact is compatible with an urban commitment of the temporary stabilization emphasis.

The working hypothesis to be tested in this chapter is that *with increasing urban tenure status, urban involvement - in terms of investment in town - is increased. Alternatively, it is hypothesized that persons with low urban tenure status increase their investments in the rural areas.* It is assumed that investments made either in town or the rural area are instrumental to maintaining or increasing security of tenure at the respective pole. (This implies an increase in the respective 'pull' force.).

Tenure and residential mobility prospects might be included in the working hypothesis as a further qualifying condition. It is

hypothesized that investment behaviour is affected by prospects of tenure and residential mobility in a particular context. *At the urban pole, we propose that in the case of expected upward tenure mobility, urban investment is increased. On the other hand expectations of downward urban residential mobility lead to increased rural investment.* This last proposition is consistent with the life-cycle approach to spatial mobility. In the study context, residential mobility prospects are expectedly greater among the younger migrants and townsmen, towards retirement age an urban African under the current quasi-stabilization policy will anticipate losing his job-tied or even his rented accommodation in town and accordingly invest in the rural areas.

Under conditions of quasi-stabilization complete urban involvement to the exclusion of involvement in rural affairs is not predicted. It was mentioned above that token rural contacts will presumably be maintained even after permanent stabilization. Analogously, land rights granted as an African birthright will surely not be declined, if only minimal rural involvement is expected in return for additional economic and social security. For this reason we shall measure the *relative* rather than the absolute emphasis placed on urban as against rural involvement by urban groups with differential security of tenure in town.

In some respects the variables reviewed below seek to check whether *urban insecurity* of tenure is actually balanced by *rural security* of tenure, - especially in respect of land rights. The policy of quasi-stabilization is based on this assumption that rural security of tenure is forthcoming to all urban workers. However, in more recent years, great concern has been shown in Southern Africa for the increasing number of urban Africans with little security of tenure in town, who, at the same time, have no access to a rural home.

Land rights: Approximately four-fifths of respondents in all samples claim to have rights to land in the rural area. Some hostel dwellers will stake their claim at a later date when they marry (cf. Table 12.1).

Previous research experience has shown that deferred access to tribal land must be included in the response categories in order to make comparison between urban groups of different ages relevant. Nineteen-seventy-five findings are supported by those of earlier surveys: 79,5 per cent of Rhodesian Mufakose respondents in the 1973/74 Study claimed land rights, and in the 1973 Hostels Study 59,5 per cent of Rhodesian hostel dwellers had land rights at the time of the survey.

The majority of respondents in all samples have rights to land in areas which have been classified as over-populated or grossly over-populated (cf. Kay 1975). In the Hostels and Kambuzuma samples under 10 per cent of persons have access to land in less populated tribal areas.

Table 12.1. 1975 Study

Land rights

"Do you at the present moment have rights to work a plot of land in the rural area?"

(Hostels: "If not, will you get rights when you are older?")

response	Hostels		Mufakose		Kambuzuma	
	%	%	%	%	%	%
yes	56,1		80,7		78,7	
yes, when older	21,6		-		-	
yes, when older but not interested	1,4	79,1	-	80,7	-	78,7
no	16,9		-		-	
uncertain/un- decided	4,1	20,9	19,3	19,3	21,3	21,3
	100,1	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0
	N = 148		N = 150		N = 150	
other	2					

It will be observed that persons without land rights at present might possibly be allotted a plot in a less populated tribal area in the future. Consider also that quite a number of under-populated areas are situated in border areas where terrorism is rife. A few respondents in Mufakose and Kambuzuma have land in African Purchase Areas. The highest proportion of persons with no ties to rural land is found in the Kambuzuma sample (cf. Table 12.2).

Field attendance in rural areas: In the majority of cases the wives of township respondents attend to their fields in the rural areas (cf. Table 12.3).

More Mufakose than Kambuzuma wives receive help from kinsmen when attending to fields. Hired help in the fields is mentioned exclusively by Mufakose respondents, which relates to the fact that their remittances are frequently earmarked for the maintenance of rural property (cf. Table 11.15 in Chapter 11). The parents of Kambuzuma residents are more likely to work the land than parents of Mufakose residents. This is consistent with the observation made in the preceding chapter that the cash flow from Kambuzuma townsmen to their families of origin is particularly strong. The age difference between the samples might partially account for more parents of Kambuzuma respondents being alive and sufficiently healthy to attend to fields. In some few cases in both samples respondents' brothers, other relatives or the respondents themselves look after the fields or alternatively the fields are lying fallow. Slightly more Kambuzuma than Mufakose respondents state that no one is attending to their land in the rural area. It is probable that some of these plots are situated in the operational area.

Table 12.2. 1975 Study

Land rights by population pressure

population pressure index* in reference TTL	l a n d r i g h t s					
	Hostels		Mufakose		Kambuzuma	
	yes %	no %	yes %	no %	yes %	no %
1 under populated	1,7	-	3,6	4,0	0,9	6,3
2 optimum population	7,8	9,7	6,2	12,0	6,3	-
3 over-populated	46,6	41,9	57,5	40,0	47,8	56,3
4 grossly over-populated	44,0	48,4	32,7	44,0	45,1	37,5
	100,1	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,1	100,1
	N= 116	N= 31	N= 113	N= 25	N= 111	N= 16
purchase area	-	1	4	-	3	1
no code	1	-	4	2	5	1
n/a	-	1	-	2	1	8
no information	-	-	-	-	-	4

* Source: G. Kay: Population Pressures and Development Prospects in Rhodesia, *The Rhodesia Science News*, Vol. 9, No. 1, January 1975.
Map 1: Rhodesia: Population Pressure on Land in Tribal Trust Lands 1969.

Table 12.3. 1975 Study

Field attendance in rural area (Townships)

"Who attends to the fields in your absence?"

attendant	Mufakose %	Kambuzuma %
wife	37,2	47,5
one or both parents	11,6	20,8
wife and other relatives	13,2	4,2
brother	5,8	2,5
relatives	5,0	6,7
hired help	14,1	-
respondent	4,1	4,2
fields are not being cultivated	7,4	5,8
no one	1,7	8,3
	100,1	100,0
	N = 121	N = 120

Some explorative questions on the intentions regarding claims to tribal land were put to 29 Mufakose and 30 Kambuzuma respondents who had no land rights at the time of the survey. The majority of the Mufakose respondents in this group maintained they would have no difficulty in claiming land rights (cf. Table 12.4). Over a fourth of the respondents in each sample group said the pressure on the land was very great in their tribal areas. More Kambuzuma than Mufakose respondents, notably those Kambuzuma respondents born in town, would encounter legal difficulties when applying for land rights.

Table 12.4. 1975 Study

Questions put to respondents with no land rights Mufakose N = 29,
Kambuzuma N = 30.

"Would you encounter any difficulty in obtaining rights to a plot if you desired to do so? Which difficulties?"

difficulties in obtaining land rights	Mufakose %	Kambuzuma %
none	58,6	20,7
land pressure	27,6	31,0
legal difficulties	10,3	27,6
personal difficulties	-	6,9
operational area	-	6,9
other	3,4	6,9

99,9 100,0
N = 29 N = 29

don't know

1

"Are you thinking of obtaining a plot in the future? When will this be?"

specificity of plans for obtaining land rights	Mufakose %	Kambuzuma %
definite plans	41,4	24,1
vague plans	27,6	24,1
after retirement	3,4	3,4
no aspirations	27,6	48,3

100,0 99,9
N = 29 N = 29

no information

1

"Who will allocate this plot to you?" "In which TTL?" (cf. 'reference TTL' in Table 12.2).

allocation of plot by	Mufakose %	Kambuzuma %
local authority	92,0	86,7
district authority	8,0	-
family	-	6,7
other	-	6,7

100,0 100,1
N = 25 N = 15

not applicable, no information

4

15

There is a tendency for Mufakose respondents to be slightly more vague when referring to their future plans for obtaining land rights. On the other hand a higher proportion of Kambuzuma respondents express no aspirations for claiming tribal land whatsoever.

In most cases the local authority, the chief or headman would be approached when seeking rights to tribal land.

Taxes: Approximately four-fifths of respondents in all urban groups are paying African Council fees or other taxes in the rural areas (cf. Table 12.5).

Table 12.5. 1975 Study			
<u>Taxes</u>			
"Are you at present paying African Council fees or taxes in the rural areas?"			
response	Hostels %	Mufakose %	Kambuzuma %
yes	88,0	79,3	78,0
no	12,0	20,7	22,0
	100,0	100,0	100,0
	N = 150	N = 150	N = 150

The proportion of taxpayers is slightly higher in the Hostels sample. The figures recorded for the townships samples are probably an under-estimation due to ambiguity in the phrasing of the question. Some persons gave a negative reply when an African Council had not yet been established in their tribal area regardless of whether they were paying cattle tax or not.

House in the rural area: In the Hostels sample some 40 per cent of respondents state they have built a house in the rural area and a further 40 per cent say they have "not yet" built a house. Among Mufakose respondents 80 per cent have built a rural house. By contrast only 59 per cent of Kambuzuma respondents have done so. The difference between the number of Mufakose and Kambuzuma rural home owners in our survey is very significant (chi square = 15,2, 1 d.f., $p < .001$) (cf. Table 12.6).

The Hostels sample distribution of rural home owners does not meet expectations. Based on the assumption that hostel dwellers have a weak foothold in town, one would expect the majority of this group to have established a home in the rural area to compensate for urban insecurity. At first glance the findings do not support this notion.

Table 12.6. 1975 Study

House in the rural area

Hostels: "Have you built a house in the Tribal Trust Lands?"

Townships: "Have you built a house in the TTL (or purchase area) or are you at present building one?"

response	Hostels %			
yes	41,3			
not yet	40,0			
no	18,7			
	100,0			
	N = 150			
response	Hostels married %	men	Mufakose %	Kambuzuma %
built*	67,5		80,0	59,3
building	-		2,7	3,3
not built	32,5		17,3	37,3
	100,0		100,0	99,9
	N = 83		N = 150	N = 150
* including those respondents who formerly possessed a house in the operational area (Kambuzuma: 2 or 1,3%), those who refer to a hut instead of a house (Kambuzuma 1 or 0,7%), or have built for their parents (Kambuzuma: 1 or 0,7%).				
Question put to respondents with no house in the rural area (Townships)				
"Are you contemplating building a house in the rural area in the near future?"				
response	Mufakose %	Kambuzuma %		
no	3,8	62,1		
yes (vague)	61,5	27,6		
yes (specific or qualified)	19,2	10,3		
using relative's house	3,8	-		
don't know: operational area	3,8	-		
don't know: land pressure	7,7	-		
	99,8	100,0		
	N = 26	N = 58+		
+ includes the 2 respondents who lost their houses in the operational area.				

However, when a control for marital status is introduced, the proportion of rural home owners among the married hostel dwellers rises substantially. Nevertheless, with 67,5 per cent, the proportion of Hostel men who have built a home in the rural areas is still lower than the comparable Mufakose sample proportion. The age differential between samples might account for this discrepancy. When Hostels respondents who have 'not yet' built in the rural area are added to present Hostels home owners, we achieve the approximate 80 per cent which is equal to the Mufakose figure.

Another confounding issue is the conception of rural accommodation standards. In this study we are less concerned with objective standards than with the notion of having invested time, effort and/or money in some kind of rural abode regardless of the final product. It is not quite clear if the concept of a house is identical for members of all three samples. Judging by the low proportion of affirmative replies in the Hostels sample it would appear so. Some few persons were explicit about their rural home consisting of one or more traditional type huts.¹⁾ It is therefore likely that respondents who had built traditional rural dwellings gave a negative reply to the question.

Among those with no rural house a far greater proportion of Mufakose than Kambuzuma respondents intend to build one some time in the near future. Over half of the Kambuzuma respondents in this category were adamant that they would not build a rural house.

Cattle ownership: Less than one-third of respondents in each sample have no cattle (cf. Table 12.7). The proportion of migrants owning no cattle is somewhat higher than the proportion of townsmen, but differences between samples are insignificant. Most Hostel cattle owners possess only a few head of cattle. There is a steady increase in the average number of cattle owned by respondents from the Hostels to the Kambuzuma sample. The larger herds owned by townsmen possibly reflect their higher financial standing. There is a tendency for larger numbers of cattle to be kept in the African Purchase Areas. Three and one of the largest herds belonging to Mufakose and Kambuzuma respondents respectively are purchase area herds. The domestic-age differential between the migrant and townsmen samples is most certainly another decisive factor regarding cattle ownership. A significantly higher proportion of married hostel dwellers possess cattle ($CC = ,31, p < .001$).

Cattle attendance: Cattle belonging to Mufakose respondents are usually tended by wives or by a herdboy, who is paid for his services. Fewer mentions are made of other kin tending to cattle such as parents, the respondents' brothers or other relatives (cf. Table 12.8).

1) It is possible that a 'modern' type of house to replace the traditional rural dwelling is one of the 'targets' envisaged by migrants working in town. This idea is supported by the differential emphasis placed on the life goal item 'home and house in the rural area' by migrants and townsmen in Table 7.9 in Chapter 7.

Table 12.7. 1975 Study

Cattle ownership

"Do you own any cattle?"

number cattle	Hostels	Mufakose	Kambuzuma
	%	%	%
none	36,0	29,3	31,3
1 - 4	40,7	23,3	16,7
5 - 9	15,3	28,7	31,3
10 - 14	4,0	10,7	10,0
15 - 19	3,3	3,3	5,3
20 - 24	-	1,3	3,3
25 - 29	0,7	-	0,7
30 - 34	-	2,0	-
35+	-	0,7	1,3
	100,0	99,3	99,9
	N = 150	N = 150	N = 150
no information		0,7	
mean	3,3	5,7	6,1
median	2	3,5	5

Table 12.8. 1975 Study

Cattle attendance (Townships)

"Who looks after the cattle?"

attendant	Mufakose	Kambuzuma
	%	%
wife	24,5	33,0
parent(s)	16,0	27,2
brother	14,2	7,8
wife and/or relative	4,7	12,6
relatives	6,6	6,8
hired help	25,5	7,8
children	8,5	1,9
family	-	1,9
no information	-	1,0
	100,0	100,0
	N = 106	N = 103

In some cases the children living in the rural areas will mind the cattle. In the Kambuzuma sample it is predominantly the wife who looks after the cattle, sometimes with the help of other relatives especially when she

is away in town. It is also more usual for parents to see to the cattle. These findings are fairly consistent with those regarding field attendance (cf. Table 12.3).

Investments: A higher proportion of Kambuzuma than Mufakose respondents say they have made most of their investments in town, or in both town and country (cf. Table 12.9). This response pattern is certainly determined by involvement in the Kambuzuma home ownership scheme. By comparison almost half of the Mufakose as against a mere 6,7 per cent of the Kambuzuma sample respondents have ploughed back all their urban savings into the rural area.

Table 12.9. 1975 Study

Investments (Townships)

"If you have made any investments in the past: where have you made most of your investments so far; in town, in the rural area, or have you made investments in both town and the rural area?"

investment in	Mufakose %	Kambuzuma %
town	26,0	60,0
rural area	48,7	6,7
both	20,0	32,7
purchase area	2,0	-
no investments	3,3	0,7
	100,0	100,1
	N = 150	N = 150

Pension or life insurance provision: A progressive and significant increase in the number of persons who have some form of urban old age security is observed from the Hostels to the Kambuzuma group (chi square = 58,8, 2 d.f., $p < .001$) (cf. Table 12.10). The difference between the migrant and townsmen groups is most pronounced.

Table 12.10. 1975 Study

Pension or life insurance provision

"Do you contribute to some kind of pension scheme or life insurance?"

response	Hostels %	Mufakose %	Kambuzuma %
yes	20,0	50,7	62,7
no	80,0	49,3	37,3
	100,0	100,0	100,0
	N = 150	N = 150	N = 150

These findings are also consistent with townsmen's retirement projections (cf. Table 10.12 in Chapter 10). It was also noticed that quite a number of hostel dwellers were not informed if they were eligible for membership in pension schemes at their place of employment.

To *recapitulate* this chapter's findings briefly, it is evident that Hostels and Mufakose respondents make relatively more investments in the rural areas than Kambuzuma respondents. Among the three survey groups the Kambuzuma group is most involved in town. Support is thus given to the working hypothesis that increasing urban tenure status generates increasing urban involvement in terms of investments in town. The proposition that urban involvement only partially detracts from rural involvement is credible in the light of this chapter's findings. Despite higher urban involvement, a proportion of Kambuzuma townsmen, similar to that in the other urban survey groups, has access to tribal land and possesses rural property such as cattle. It is thought that the higher financial status of Kambuzuma respondents allows them to make investments in town and country simultaneously. Noteworthy is the fact that rural land and property is frequently entrusted to the parents of Kambuzuma respondents, and it is likely that rural involvement may decrease or cease after the parents' death. For present study purposes, the flagging of Kambuzuma rural interests regarding investments, in favour of urban ones, is worth special mention.

CHAPTER 13.1975 SURVEY FINDINGS:
PERSONAL, ORGANIZATIONAL AND INSTITUTIONAL TIES.

Personal, organizational and institutional ties constitute a further aspect of urban involvement. It is assumed that a certain degree of dissociation from the social relationships existing in the area of origin is associated with every migration act. Similarly, there will be a greater or lesser involvement in social relationships established in the area of destination. Rural dissociation and urban association are both part of the process of integration and individual adjustment which every in-migrant undergoes. The working hypothesis to be tested in this chapter is that *urban involvement in terms of personal and organizational ties in town increases with rising urban tenure status and socio-economic status.* Along the lines of a network theory approach to urbanization, it is suggested that the exchange of rural ties for urban ones at the personal level might involve interaction with persons beyond the range of kinship networks. This argument is based on the idea that urban life facilitates confrontation with various sets of persons: co-workers, neighbours, persons with similar interests, casual acquaintances etc. On the other hand, kinship ties to the exclusion of other urban social relations might preserve the notion of the rural home and common origin, limit certain modes of adjustment to urban life, and inhibit a more permanent type of commitment to town. At the organizational level, an urban life style might warrant the exchange of associations catering essentially for emotional needs, for those catering for instrumental ones as well. In short, *it is assumed that higher urban involvement is characterized by extra-kin contact in town, and conversely low urban involvement is attributed to the maintenance of ties with persons and organizations representing links to the common rural origin.*¹⁾ Consistent with the working hypothesis above, an increase in extra-kin contact in the direction of the Hostels to the Kambuzuma sample is expected.

Further introductory remarks to this chapter refer more to *methodological* than to theoretical aspects involved in this survey section. By and large the inquiry conducted in the present and the following chapter may be considered an explorative venture and the results should be accepted as such. Variables discussed in the preceding chapters pertain to topics which have been studied extensively in the past. Due to their factual content, variables are more objective and can be accurately measured, hence the validity of parameters is likely to

1) Dorjahn (1975:48) also links the extension of the social network to urban commitment by observing that the social relationships established in the area of destination are more restricted for those in-migrants, whose residence is most likely to be temporary.

be higher. Although we have introduced marginal context conditions which tend to weaken the commonly postulated linear relationships, the relationships between the variables discussed above pertain to actual migration behaviour and have been explicitly formulated and in several instances tested (cf. Caldwell 1969; Adepoju 1974; Dorjahn 1975).

By contrast the indicators of urban involvement introduced below often have a low factual content. The validity of the scoring of behavioural and attitudinal items may be contested and can only be proved in time. These variables have been included in this study with the subsequent factor analysis in mind. It has been suggested that factor analysis can be employed both for testing and for explorative purposes. When applying the method to our data, it is intended that the common factor analysis should:

firstly test communality of items reported on in the preceding chapters, whose positive relationship has been hypothesized, and

secondly should simultaneously explore the empirical relationship between the better known variables introduced above and the explorative ones to be introduced below.

By examining urban involvement aspects with little factual content, we are partially adopting Grant's (1969) procedure of compiling an inventory of items predictive of individual urbanization. By applying a factor analysis to survey data on urbanization responses, Grant was able to select the strongest items comprising the major principal factor which he labelled 'urbanization'.

Following a method closely resembling Grant's, response distribution on each item relating to urbanization aspects such as urban involvement, urban commitment, and urban orientation, may be ordered along a continuum with one pole indicating typical urban behaviour, the other pole 'non-urban' behaviour, which is frequently referred to as 'rural' or 'traditional' behaviour. Each indicator has been assigned an urban emphasis denoting increased urban involvement, urban commitment or urban orientation. Due to the explorative nature of this survey section, the definition of the 'urban' emphasis has often been somewhat arbitrary and it is conceivable that the 'urban' emphasis may be exchanged from one pole to the opposite, if the indicator is seen in a different situational connection. Obviously, indicators with shifting 'urban' emphases will not be extremely reliable, however at the exploratory phase of research, the inclusion of some such items is fruitful, because they add scope and possibilities for new theoretical interpretations of empirical relationships between variables.²⁾ At a later stage

2) It is interesting to note that in a preliminary analysis step, Grant (1969) checked the item emphases and when necessary, adjusted the scoring key to yield consistently positive item-total correlations for all items in the catalogue.

in research a few highly stable and predictive indicators may be selected by applying factor analysis or similar methods to empirical observations.

As previously noted, urban involvement is not assumed to be exclusive of rural involvement, especially under the given marginal quasi-stabilization conditions. Uneven social change in the urban context (cf. Stopforth 1972) is to be expected in behaviour indicative of integration in the area of destination. The dichotomization of responses to urbanization items is therefore possibly misleading, comparable to the fallacy of the 'rural-urban continuum'. Therefore, continuity between 'rural' and 'urban' attitudes and behaviour presents a problem for empirical measurement.

Very often, it is difficult to assess which item emphasis is the 'urban' one in a behavioural sphere subject to rapid social change. Nevertheless, exclusion of such items would severely limit the scope of the research. For instance, continuous institutions and organizations, that is, ones that exist both in the rural and urban areas, present an assessment problem. On the other hand they are thought to play an important role in facilitating adaptation to urban life for new in-migrants. A similar assessment problem is presented by organizations which are known to have changed goals or functions as urbanization progresses, whereby membership in the one same organization changes its significance in time. The exclusion of affiliations to such organizations would however detract from observing significant social change phenomena.

A shift in the 'urban' emphasis of items may also occur in relation to the migration phase or life-stage reached by an in-migrant. For instance, kinship connections may be conducive to stabilization and limited urban involvement in the initial phase of in-migration (cf. Bourdillon 1973), in fact they may be decisive for the migration act (Caldwell 1969:130ff.). On the other hand, continued association with 'home-boys' may lead to the 'urban village' phenomenon in its African version of 'encapsulation' (Mayer 1961), which may result in marginal integration at a later migration stage. Continued association with rural-tied kin is thought to dilute the effects of social benefits derived from the urban sojourn, because social security is sought almost exclusively via the kinship network in the rural home. Thus, the same item in the emphasis 'association with relatives in town' should correctly be scored as 'urban' behaviour for new in-migrants and as 'rural' behaviour for older migrants.

This brings us to a final observation of a more theoretical nature, before commencing with reporting on this chapter's findings. Indicators of personal and organizational involvement employed below are not expected to be independent or consistently related. It is proposed that encapsulation or even association with rural-tied or low status (by urban standards) organizations will have its effects both on the extent

and type of urban involvement and on urban social mobility potential. This in turn, debars members from the high socio-economic ranks which according to our working hypothesis are associated with stabilization and urban commitment.³⁾

Contact with kin in town: Over half of the respondents in each sample claim to have relatives in town and visit them often. Small percentages in the Hostels and Mufakose samples respectively have no kin in town. Contact with kin is most pronounced in Kambuzuma and least pronounced in Mufakose. In fact, Mufakose respondents are the only survey

3) Consider two sources supporting this supposition:

1) Mayer (1971) demonstrates that the totalitarian code of 'home-boy' groups and certain religious sects effectively prevent urban involvement in the sphere of personal relations and activities by prescribing minimum participation outside the group and maximum participation within. The individual member is thus imprinted with the group status (Mayer does not explicitly draw this conclusion.).

2) Aquina (1966) adapting Sundkler's original systematic observations on religious groupings among Africans to the Rhodesian context, distinguishes between three groups:

Mission Church: including Roman Catholicism and Protestant denominations which were first spread from mission stations,

Ethiopian Churches or African Independent Churches: which split off from European controlled Mission Churches because members resented European supervision and

Zionist Churches: representing syncretism between Christianity and paganism, or 'African Christianity'.

A social status differentiation exists between the three groups, both actual and as perceived among the groups themselves. Members of Mission Churches consider themselves superior to members of African Independent Churches, and members of Ethiopian Churches look down on Zionists. Aquina produces evidence that members of Mission Churches are "both rich and have achieved higher education than members of other denominations and especially pagans" (1966:12). According to Aquina (1966:13ff.) this differentiation may be a reflection of the recruitment process or else of a value choice. If the latter holds, the status assigned by religious affiliation may be predictive of potential social mobility. If persons are willing to pay for their children's schooling, it can be assumed, by Aquina's reasoning, that they value education as a means both to acquiring Christianity and to success in Rhodesia's economy.

It is interesting to note that Grant (1969) scores the response 'traditional or African separatist' as the 'rural' response, and 'recognised christian' as the 'urban' response to the item 'participation in religious organizations' on his urbanization scale.

respondents who admit they do not interact with their relatives in town. The fact that family members or other close kin often share a room with respondents living in the hostels, or live in the same building complex, promotes kinship contacts among migrants and might be indicative of chain migration (cf. Table 13.1).

Contact with kin in town			
"Do you have relatives living in Salisbury? Do you visit each other often, seldom or never?"			
response	Harare %	Mufakose %	Kambuzuma %
often	62,0	56,0	69,3
seldom	31,3	38,0	30,7
never	-	4,0	-
no relatives	5,7	2,0	-
	100,0	100,0	100,0
	N = 150	N = 150	N = 150

These findings do not support our working hypothesis at first glance. One might however argue that contact with kin in town does not necessarily detract from wider involvement in urban social relationships. Moreover, a town-based kinship system should merely reduce the 'social' pull exerted on absent family members by the rural home through the social network. With second or third generation town-based families (which does not apply to our samples), being on good terms with one's relatives in town is possibly conducive to continued permanent stabilization.⁴⁾

- 4) Compare these findings on contact with kin in town with family reliance findings. Higher average family reliance percentages are observed for migrants than for townsmen in the following comparative samples:

Migrants: Korekore migrants (Bourdillon 1973:18): 98%, (N = 58);
1973 Hostels migrants: 49,7%, (N = 392).

Townsmen: Highfield (Stopforth 1972:64-65) males: 45,5%, (N = 87);
1973/74 Mufakose principal respondents: 35,2%, (N = 272); 1973/74
Mufakose Rhodesian principal respondents: 39,8%, (N = 174).

Elites: Chitepo Road (Highfield) enumeration (Stopforth 1973a:
Appendix A, Table I): 44,3%, (N = 37).

Stopforth (1972:24) proposes that kinship reliance is more prevalent in situations experienced in the traditional order and less prevalent for derived needs of the urban environment. Møller (1974c:102) has shown that Stopforth's proposition regarding family reliance is supported by the 1973 Hostels, 1973/74 Mufakose, Stopforth's Highfield

4) Continued.

and Chitepo Road findings. Family reliance is consistently higher for the items referring to property safeguarding, fines, sickness, calamity and unemployment need situations and consistently lower for items referring to education, jobs, cash, rent and credit need situations. The family reliance findings pertaining to the 1973 Hostels and the 1973/74 Mufakose Studies are given in greater detail below.

Family reliance

"Who would you go to for help if or when:

(education): It is difficult for you to find a school or money for your children's education?

(jobs): You have to find a job for a relative?

(cash): You are short of money?

(property safeguarding): You need somebody to look after your property when your family is absent?

(rent): You cannot pay your rent?

(fines): You cannot pay a fine?

(unemployment): You are unemployed?

(sickness): You cannot provide for your family due to sickness?

(credit): You want to borrow money for a particular purpose or to buy a particular article?

(calamity): You are unexpectedly struck by calamity?"

item:*	percentage kinship reliance	
	1973 Hostels	1973/74 Mufakose
education	49,1	20,4
jobs	13,8	5,2
cash	27,2	16,7
property safeguarding	51,8	67,4
rent	33,2	23,4
fines	60,0	42,6
unemployment	59,4	30,9
sickness	84,1	66,9
credit	42,8	23,9
calamity	75,7	54,1
N =	392	272

* Adapted and amended by Stopfortn from Koyama, T., 1966, 'The Significance of Relatives at the Turning Point of the Family System in Japan' in Halmos, P. (ed.), *The Sociological Review Monograph 10*, Keele University.

Roommates: The majority of hostel rooms contain five beds though a small number can accommodate more or less than average. The origin of persons occupying hostel quarters reflects the urban recruiting system. Hostel beds are allocated through employers and quite a number of connections with persons working in the same firm would therefore be expected. The exclusive identification of workmates as roommates comprises some 26 per cent of responses. A similarly high percentage claim to have no connections to any of the persons sharing their hostel room with them. 'Relatives', 'people from home', and 'friends' are other single categories of roommates. In approximately one-third of all cases roommates represent connections to the rural home. The cushioning effect (Brown et al. 1970) of kin and home folk is therefore possibly felt in the hostel environment, although 'home-boy' cliques do not appear to be strongly represented (cf. Table 13.2).

Table 13.2. 1975 Study	
<u>Roommates</u> (Hostels)	
"Who shares this room with you?"	
response	%
no connection to roommates	27,3
workmates	26,0
relatives	15,3
people from home	8,0
friends	7,3
relatives and workmates	4,0
workmates and friends	3,3
friends and relatives	3,3
workmates and people from home	3,3
friends and people from home	0,7
relatives and people from home	0,7
uncertain	0,7
	99,9
cases where roommates represent	%
connections to rural home	35,3
no connections to rural home	64,7
	100,0
	N = 150

Leisure time company: An inquiry into the company kept by respondents in town reveals that true to our working hypothesis, townsmen associate with urban-tied persons to a greater extent than hostel migrants. Persons identified as not representing kinship connections or ties to a

common rural origin were categorized as 'urban-tied', all others as 'rural-tied'.⁵⁾

Townsmen associate with persons referred to as 'friends' more often than hostel dwellers (cf. Table 13.3).

Table 13.3. 1975 Study			
<u>Leisure time company</u>			
Hostels: "With whom do you spend most of your leisure time?"			
Townships: "With whom (other than your immediate family) do you spend most of your free time?"			
companionship type	Hostels %	Mufakose %	Kambuzuma %
urban-tied	62,0	84,7	84,0
rural-tied	26,7	8,0	7,3
undecided	11,3	7,3	8,7
	100,0 N = 150	100,0 N = 150	100,0 N = 150
Hostels			
%			
companions			
friends		34,0	
relatives		26,7	
girl friends		14,7	
several categories		10,7	
alone		5,3	
friends and girl friends		3,3	
roommates		2,7	
workmates		2,0	
fellow church members		0,7	
		100,1 N = 150	
Mufakose			
%			
Kambuzuma			
%			
companions			
friends	48,7		40,0
alone	17,3		16,0
several categories	10,7		11,3
persons with like interests	2,0		10,0
relatives (homemates)	8,0		7,3
fellow church members	2,7		6,7
neighbours	7,3		2,0
co-workers	0,7		5,3
other	2,7		1,3
	100,1 N = 150		99,9 N = 150

5) It is obvious that these categories are only valid for an urban population in its first generation.

Roommates: The majority of hostel rooms contain five beds though a small number can accommodate more or less than average. The origin of persons occupying hostel quarters reflects the urban recruiting system. Hostel beds are allocated through employers and quite a number of connections with persons working in the same firm would therefore be expected. The exclusive identification of workmates as roommates comprises some 26 per cent of responses. A similarly high percentage claim to have no connections to any of the persons sharing their hostel room with them. 'Relatives', 'people from home', and 'friends' are other single categories of roommates. In approximately one-third of all cases roommates represent connections to the rural home. The cushioning effect (Brown et al. 1970) of kin and home folk is therefore possibly felt in the hostel environment, although 'home-boy' cliques do not appear to be strongly represented (cf. Table 13.2).

Table 13.2. 1975 Study	
Roommates (Hostels)	
"Who shares this room with you?"	
response	%
no connection to roommates	27,3
workmates	26,0
relatives	15,3
people from home	8,0
friends	7,3
relatives and workmates	4,0
workmates and friends	3,3
friends and relatives	3,3
workmates and people from home	3,3
friends and people from home	0,7
relatives and people from home	0,7
uncertain	0,7
	99,9
cases where roommates represent	%
connections to rural home	35,3
no connections to rural home	64,7
	100,0
	N = 150

Leisure time company: An inquiry into the company kept by respondents in town reveals that true to our working hypothesis, townsmen associate with urban-tied persons to a greater extent than hostel migrants. Persons identified as not representing kinship connections or ties to a

common rural origin were categorized as 'urban-tied', all others as 'rural-tied'.⁵⁾

Townsmen associate with persons referred to as 'friends' more often than hostel dwellers (cf. Table 13.3).

Table 13.3. 1975 Study			
<u>Leisure time company</u>			
Hostels: "With whom do you spend most of your leisure time?"			
Townships: "With whom (other than your immediate family) do you spend most of your free time?"			
companionship type	Hostels %	Mufakose %	Kambuzuma %
urban-tied	62,0	84,7	84,0
rural-tied	26,7	8,0	7,3
undecided	11,3	7,3	8,7
	100,0	100,0	100,0
	N = 150	N = 150	N = 150
Hostels			
companions	%		
friends	34,0		
relatives	26,7		
girl friends	14,7		
several categories	10,7		
alone	5,3		
friends and girl friends	3,3		
roommates	2,7		
workmates	2,0		
fellow church members	0,7		
	100,1		
	N = 150		
Mufakose			
companions	%		Kambuzuma %
friends	48,7		40,0
alone	17,3		16,0
several categories	10,7		11,3
persons with like interests	2,0		10,0
relatives (homemates)	8,0		7,3
fellow church members	2,7		6,7
neighbours	7,3		2,0
co-workers	0,7		5,3
other	2,7		1,3
	100,1		99,9
	N = 150		N = 150

5) It is obvious that these categories are only valid for an urban population in its first generation.

Relatives are less heavily relied upon to provide leisure time company. Townsmen are also more likely to state that they spend their free time alone. In some cases these persons are absorbed by their occupations and have little time away from work and/or spend most of their free time with their immediate family. (Nuclear family members were excluded from consideration on the 'leisure time company' item.) Although this might merely reflect fieldworkers' idiosyncracies in recording, it was found that more Kambuzuma respondents referred to their associates as 'friends' or 'persons with like interests'. The church provides a common reference group for quite a number of Kambuzuma respondents. An increase in interest association is considered to be typically urban behaviour. In Mufakose 'neighbours' are more often regarded as good company. In the all-male enclave of the hostels it is understandable that 'girl' friends are specifically stated as leisure time companions.

Drinking habits: The significance of beer drinking for social relations in town is well documented for the Rhodesian and Salisbury context (Reader, May 1971; May 1973; May undated). In the 1975 Study drinking *companionship* was focus of study. Approximately two-thirds of respondents in each sample say they drink beer (cf. Table 13.4). There is a slightly higher proportion of beerdrinkers in the Kambuzuma sample. Whilst approximately 41 and 37 per cent of Mufakose and Kambuzuma drinkers respectively prefer to drink in the privacy of their homes,⁶⁾ only some 17 per cent of Hostels drinkers claim to drink in their rooms. This difference in choice of drinking venue between migrants and townsmen is significant (chi square = 16,6, 2 d.f., $p < .001$). The beerhall is the most popular venue for beer drinking. Although not included in the phrasing of the questions, a few townsmen, notably Kambuzuma respondents, mentioned that they preferred to drink at the local hotel or in cocktail bars, which might be considered a more exclusive environment for socializing than the beerhall, with an intimate atmosphere similar to the home.⁷⁾

The survey findings are consistent with records of drinking patterns in the relevant literature. May (1973:12ff.) discovered a positive association between income and home drinking and suggests that

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- 6) The few persons stating shebeens as their first choice of drinking locale were referred to the phrasing of the question and categorized according to their second choice.
 - 7) Preferences for drinking in cocktail bars or hotels were categorized as beerhall preferences, because it was felt that the former venues offer greater opportunity for social contacts than the home. However, according to May's (1973:12-14) argumentation, the cocktail bar venue has greater affinity to the home venue. Fortunately very few cocktail bar responses were given.

preference for home drinking over public drinking might be related to income as well. It is thought that those of higher socio-economic status drink at home more frequently than others because of a greater distaste for the rowdy conditions of the beer garden and a liking for a more European form of leisure activity. May (1973:14) concludes that modernization and better housing may be expected to increase the amount of drinking at home, particularly among the middle classes.

Table 13.4. 1975 Study

Drinking habits

Hostels: "If you drink, do you prefer to drink in your room or in the beerhall?"

Townships: "If you drink, do you prefer to go to the beerhall to drink or do you prefer to drink at home?"

venue preference	Hostels		Mufakose		Kambuzuma	
	drinkers %	total %	drinkers %	total %	drinkers %	total %
home/room	16,5	10,7	41,0	27,3	36,5	26,0
beerhall	79,4	51,3	54,0	36,0	57,9	41,3
both	4,1	2,7	5,0	3,3	5,6	4,0
drinkers	100,0	64,7	100,0	66,6	100,0	71,3
n/a, non-drinkers		35,3		33,3		28,7
	N = 97	100,0	N = 100	99,9	N = 107	100,0
		N = 150		N = 150		N = 150

Drinking companions

"With whom do you usually drink?"

drinking companion	Hostels %	Mufakose %	Kambuzuma %
relatives	23,7		
homemates	2,1	8,0	3,7
friends	47,4	60,0	71,0
immediate family	-	2,0	-
roommates/neighbours	3,1	4,0	4,7
workmates	3,1	1,0	-
alone	3,1	13,0	13,1
several categories	17,5	10,0	6,5
anyone	-	2,0	0,9
	100,0	100,0	99,9
	N = 97	N = 100	N = 107
drinking companionship predominantly	Hostels %	Mufakose %	Kambuzuma %
urban-tied	55,7	85,0	91,6
rural-tied	25,8	9,0	2,8
undecided	18,6	6,0	5,6
	100,1	100,0	100,0
	N = 97	N = 100	N = 107

Hostel dwellers drink with relatives and persons from their rural homes to a greater extent than townsmen.⁸⁾ The majority of all respondents drink with 'friends'. This response was accepted at face value and categorized as an 'urban-tied' association. No attempt was made to discover if members of a drinking society were being referred to, which might be organized on a tribal basis.

Church affiliation: A cushioning effect has often been attributed to the church membership of migrants to town. The church is one of the few organizations which is not exclusive to urban centres, and rural members can readily join the urban section of their particular church on transfer to town. Although the family institution is possibly the chief mediating agent for migrants, church brethren sometimes assume similar roles. It will be remembered that a few hostel dwellers reported that they stayed with 'friends' before finding a job and hostel accommodation. These friends were often fellow church members. The church organization also offers one of the few channels for social advancement to members of the African population sector.

Approximately one-quarter of all sample respondents say they go to church often or regularly (cf. Table 13.5). The frequency of church attendance in the two township samples is similar. Different measurement scales were used in the Hostels and the Townships surveys. When the last two categories on the Townships scale are combined, no significant difference between the church attendance in the three samples is observed.

Affiliation to the Methodist and Roman Catholic Churches is strong in all three samples. According to Aquina (1966) these 'Mission Churches' are associated with high social status among religious organizations. In Kambuzuma, Catholic Church attendance and affiliation is most pronounced.

Judging by the discrepancy between actual church attendance and mere church affiliation, the influence of the church as reference organization is enduring with many respondents. Some few respondents who reported that they seldom or never went to church referred to their wife's church or to the church which is dominant in their rural area of origin. Some respondents go to church *either* in town or in the rural areas. Married hostel dwellers might go to church (possibly only to accompany their wives) when they visit their rural homes over weekends.

8) Bourdillon's (1973:7-8) evidence supports our findings. Kerekore migrants rely largely on relatives and friends from home for drinking companionship in town.

Table 13.5. 1975 Study

Church affiliation

Hostels: "Do you go to church often, seldom or never? Which church?"

Townships: "Do you consider yourself a regular churchgoer or do you go to church irregularly, seldom or never? Which church?"

church affiliation	Hostels: often	church seldom	attendance never	total	
N	36	35	79	150	
%	24,0	23,3	52,7	100,0	
	%	%	%	%	
Roman catholic	19,4	42,9	3,8	16,7	
Anglican	5,6	8,6	-	3,3	
Lutheran	-	-	-	-	
Methodist	27,8	31,4	-	14,0	
Reformed	11,1	11,4	2,5	6,7	
Baptist	2,8	-	-	0,7	
Pentecostal, Apostolic	11,1	5,7	-	4,0	
Adventists	5,6	-	-	1,3	
African independent	16,7	-	-	4,0	
	100,1	100,0	6,3	50,7	
none			93,7	49,3	
church affiliation	Mufakose: regular	church irregular	attendance seldom	never	total
N	42	26	28	54	150
%	28,0	17,3	18,7	36,0	100,0
	%	%	%	%	%
Roman catholic	19,0	26,9	14,3	13,0	17,3
Anglican	16,7	34,6	10,7	7,4	15,3
Lutheran	2,4	-	-	-	0,7
Methodist	21,4	26,9	46,4	16,7	25,3
Reformed	7,1	-	10,7	-	4,0
Baptist	4,8	3,8	3,6	-	2,7
Pentecostal, Apostolic	16,7	3,8	3,6	-	6,0
Adventists	9,5	3,8	3,6	1,9	4,7
African independent	2,4	-	-	-	0,7
	100,0	99,8	92,9	38,9	76,7
none			7,1	61,1	23,3
			100,0	100,0	100,0

Continued

Table 13.5. Continued

church affiliation	Kambuzuma: church attendance				total
	regular	irregular	seldom	never	
N	41	31	37	41	150
%	27,3	20,7	24,7	27,3	100,0
	%	%	%	%	%
Roman catholic	39,0	19,4	29,7	2,4	22,7
Anglican	12,2	19,4	13,5	2,4	11,3
Lutheran	2,4	-	2,7	-	1,3
Methodist	17,1	35,5	32,4	4,9	21,3
Reformed	9,8	9,7	5,4	-	6,0
Baptist	-	-	5,4	-	1,3
Pentecostal, Apostolic	12,2	6,5	-	-	4,7
Adventists	7,3	6,5	2,7	-	4,0
African independent	-	3,2	-	-	0,7
	100,0	100,2	91,9	9,8	73,3
none			8,1	90,2	26,7
			100,0	100,0	100,0

Club membership:

Hostel dwellers: Club membership among hostel dwellers is very limited. Approximately 25 per cent of respondents belong to some kind of club or organization in town (cf. Table 13.6). Although uncalled for, many non-members chose to qualify their response. The majority of persons who do not belong to any clubs claim they do not have the time or do not wish to *make* time to join such clubs. Some of the more senior hostel dwellers felt they were too old to mix in club circles.

Clubs frequented by hostel dwellers are often closely associated to the various recreation and sports clubs which meet on hostel premises and nearby. Their organization is often linked to the Social Welfare Section of Salisbury's African Administration. Sports clubs, usually football clubs, are most popular among hostel dwellers. Golf and tennis are mentioned by two persons. Membership in political organizations, choir and dance groups, church groups and fund-raising self-help clubs are further recorded.

For survey purposes memberships are divided into 'modern' and 'traditional' types. The former category refers to clubs and organizations which are prevalent in the 'western industrial' type of urban society referred to earlier. Recruitment is oriented to persons sharing like interests, and organizational goals are therefore predominantly instrumental rather than emotionally oriented. 'Traditional' type organizations emphasize tribal origin although organizational goals might be similar to ones in 'modern' type organizations. Recruitment of club or organization members is often effected on a tribal basis. Membership in burial societies and some tribal dancing groups are prototypes of 'traditional' organizational membership.

Table 13.6. 1975 Study

Club membership (Hostels)

"Do you belong to any clubs or organizations in town? Which ones?"

club membership	%	membership type	%
yes	25,3	modern type	19,3
		traditional type	6,0
no	74,7	unqualified	38,0
		qualified	29,3
		desire to become member	3,3
		used to be member	4,0
	100,0		99,9
	N = 150		N = 150
types of memberships (members and former members) N = 44			
		%	
sports club		70,5	
political organization		11,4	
choir/dance groups		6,8	
church group		4,5	
economic organization		2,3	
sports and economic organization		2,3	
interest group		2,3	
		100,1	

Due to the popularity of sports clubs, the majority of club memberships in the Hostels sample is of the 'modern' type.

Townsmen: The interest in clubs and other organizations is more articulate in the townships. Approximately 57 per cent of respondents and between 40 and 55 per cent of wives in both townships samples claim they belong to clubs or other organizations.

A large percentage of memberships can be attributed to church membership. With townsmen church activities account for the majority of memberships, followed by what we have called 'modern' or 'urban' type memberships. Nominal membership is possible in some 'modern' organizations and the church. For instance, membership in trade unions and various professional associations organized on the national level often provide little face to face contact among members. Besides worship many churches organize numerous groups and social clubs. Many respondents were not specific about how actively they engage in various church activities (cf. Table 13.7).

Table 13.7														
Club membership (Townships)														
"Do you or your wife belong to organizations or clubs? Which ones?"														
"Have you yourself ever held an office in any of these organizations or clubs?"														
club/organization membership		Mufakose			Kambuzuma									
		%			%									
both spouses		41,3			42,7									
respondent		15,3			14,7									
wife		5,3			10,0									
none		37,3			32,7									
other		0,7			-									
		99,9			100,1									
		N = 150			N = 150									
office held by respondents in clubs or organizations by type														
modern		15,1			15,1									
church		16,3			7,0									
traditional		12,9			7,0									
modern/church		2,3			1,2									
modern/traditional		2,3			1,2									
church/traditional		1,2			-									
no office		45,4			66,3									
no information		4,7			2,3									
		100,2			100,1									
		N = 86			N = 86									
club membership		57,3			57,3									
n/a, no membership		42,7			42,7									
		100,0			100,0									
		N = 150			N = 150									
number of clubs or organizations in which membership is held by type		Mufakose respondents					Kambuzuma respondents							
		number clubs/org.					number clubs/org.							
		1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	6		
modern		13	2	1		1	17	8		2		27		
church		27	2				29	4				33		
traditional		16					16	4	1			5		
modern/church			9		1		10	8	2	1		11		
modern/traditional		1	3				4	3	1			4		
church/traditional			7				7	4				4		
several				3			3		2			2		
		57	23	4	1	1	86	50	28	5	3	-	-	86

Continued

Table 13.7. Continued

number of clubs or organizations in which membership is held by type	Mufakose wives number clubs/org.					Kambuzuma wives number clubs/org.					
	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	6
modern	8	1	1		10	12	2		1		15
church	44	2			46	44	5				49
traditional	5				5	1					1
modern/church		3		1	4	1	6	1		1	9
modern/traditional							1				1
church/traditional		3			3	1	1				2
several			1		1		1				1
	57	9	2	1	169*	59	16	1	-	1	78*

* 1 wife member in rural area excluded

The chief difference between club and organizational ties in the townships samples is the emphasis of the 'modern' to the disregard of the 'traditional' type membership by Kambuzuma respondents. A similar though somewhat less distinct pattern emerges for wives' memberships. (It will be remembered that respondents are supplying the information on their spouses' organizational ties.)

Membership in clubs and organizations is almost exclusively church-related among townswomen. Women's clubs in town are organized either under the auspices of various church denominations or under the direction of the African Administration's Social Welfare Section. Although aims and activities might be similar in all women's clubs, those organized under Social Welfare auspices are included in the 'modern' organizational category.

With the townships samples membership in clubs and organizations was not explicitly limited to town, because it was decided that respondents should be given sufficient leeway to speak of national organizational ties which are country-wide rather than exclusively town-based. It was also assumed that a man employed in town could not effectively participate in rural clubs and organizations.

Regarding the membership of respondents' wives, an attempt was made to include only the wives' ties with town-based organizations. Many wives living or spending a great deal of time in the rural areas will belong to their local women's club in the rural area. In this respect women's clubs represent continuous organizations. It is thought that these clubs diffuse modern ideas throughout the country and their organization on a country-wide basis is instrumental in achieving some social mobility for African women.

Some women's clubs in town adjust to women's seasonal rural visiting pattern. For instance it is said that Mufakose women's clubs

virtually close down during the Christmas holiday period in the middle of the agricultural season.

As well as being rank-and-file members many townsmen hold offices in their clubs and organizations. A significantly higher number of Mufakose than Kambuzuma club members presently hold or have held offices in the past (chi square = 7,0, 1 d.f., $p < .01$). The difference is largely accounted for by Mufakose townsmen holding more offices in church groups and 'traditional' type clubs.

Thrift or pooling society membership:

Hostel dwellers: In the Hostels sample half of the respondents pool their wages. A further 5 per cent say they have discontinued pooling because of adverse experience or because their pooling partners have left town (cf. Table 13.8).

Table 13.8. 1975 Study	
<u>Thrift or pooling society membership (Hostels)</u>	
"Do you belong to a thrift or pooling society?"	
response	%
yes	50,7
no	44,0
used to pool	4,7
would like to pool	0,7
	100,1
	N = 150
pools with	%
workmate(s)	46,1
friend(s)	25,0
relative(s)	7,9
roommate(s)	2,6
unspecified	18,4
	100,0
	N = 76

Of those who qualify their statement, the majority pool with their workmates, some pool with 'friends', and a few pool with relatives. This last finding is somewhat surprising. Wilson (1942:77) in his Broken Hill study maintains that pooling between kin is infrequent due to incompatibility with kinship obligations. Strict parity between pooling partners is essential and can best be achieved outside the kinship network.

It is suggested that wage parity possibly facilitates pooling in the hostel dwelling group. There will usually be sufficient persons

on an equal economic footing at the lower end of the occupational hierarchy at any place of work from which pooling partners can be selected.

Townsmen: Pooling and thrift society membership is far less common among townsmen. One respondent was even indignant at being posed a question in this respect; pooling was only for poor persons, he replied. It is true that thrift societies have been referred to as 'the poor man's bank', nevertheless just over 10 per cent in the township samples pool resources and a further 5 per cent in each sample claim membership in a more formal thrift society. According to our respondents a higher number of Mufakose than Kambuzuma wives pool, usually through their women's clubs (cf. Table 13.9).

Thrift or pooling society membership (Townships)		
"Do you or your wife belong to a thrift or pooling society?"		
response	Mufakose %	Kambuzuma %
respondent pools informally	10,7	13,3
respondent belongs to more formal thrift society	3,3	3,3
wife pools in town	6,0	2,0
wife pools in rural area	2,0	0,7
respondent used to pool	0,7	1,3
neither respondent nor wife pool	77,3	79,3
	100,0	99,9
	N= 150	N = 150

Pooling partners are most often referred to as 'friends' in Mufakose, as 'co-workers' in Kambuzuma. Usually only two persons are involved, but sometimes as many as three, five or ten persons form a thrift society. In the majority of thrift societies sums of money are exchanged each week, but fortnightly transactions are also common. The chief difference between hostels and township pooling societies lies in the amount pooled. A townsman might put eight to ten dollars into the pooling kitty each week. The highest amount mentioned was 16 dollars weekly. Pooling on a monthly basis involves sums from 20 to 50 dollars. In two Kambuzuma cases respondents said the lump sums paid out to them from pooled resources were used to purchase building materials for their homes in town.

Burial society membership: Despite the partial overlap with the club membership variable burial society membership was singled out for special attention. Burial societies are considered as prototypes of 'traditional'

or 'non-urban' type organizations in that they assist members in maintaining ties with their rural homes. They are usually organized along tribal lines or on a regional basis. Some burial societies arrange transport to the home area over the major annual holidays. For some Africans living in town, burial societies fulfill various social security functions and the economic and self-help aspects of burial societies are emphasized by many respondent members. In times of personal crises burial societies may provide financial aid and make loans for the specific cash needs of members.

In our survey burial society membership is highest in the Mufakose, followed by the Kambuzuma and the Hostels samples. The overall difference in burial society membership between samples is only significant at the 5 per cent level.

The church has taken over the main function of the burial society in some instances and provides for a proper burial of townsmen in their rural area of origin. Small percentages of Mufakose and Kambuzuma respondents claim membership in church burial societies (cf. Table 13.10).

Burial society membership			
"Do you belong to a burial society?"			
response	Hostels %	Mufakose %	Kambuzuma %
yes	9,3	18,0	12,7
yes, church burial society	-	5,3	2,7
no	86,0	76,7	84,7
not yet	4,0	-	-
once belonged	0,7	-	-
	100,0	100,0	100,1
	N = 150	N = 150	N = 150

Trade union membership: Trade union membership was included in the inquiry for completeness' sake. Trade unions constitute one of the few country-wide organizations sponsored and controlled by Africans.

Less than one-fifth of townsmen in the Mufakose and Kambuzuma samples are trade union members. In the Hostels sample the membership is slightly higher at 22,7 per cent (cf. Table 13.11).

It is thought that trade union membership is possibly less relevant for townsmen than for migrants. Due to townsmen's higher socio-economic status they are more likely to find their interests represented by occupational associations.

Table 13.11. 1975 Study

Trade union membership

"Do you belong to a trade union?"

response	Hostels %	Mufakose %	Kambuzuma %
yes	22,7	18,0	17,3
no	77,3	82,0	82,7
	100,0	100,0	100,0

(Professional associations were named under the general heading 'clubs and organizations' above, but trade unions were not.) Differences in trade union membership between samples are not significant.⁹⁾

Conclusions: The evidence given in this chapter supports the working hypothesis that urban involvement, in terms of personal and organizational relations in town, increases with rising urban tenure status and rising socio-economic status. According to 1975 survey results townsmen are generally more involved in urban organizational life and less restricted to the kinship network in their urban personal and organizational ties than migrants. This is most evident in the choice of leisure and drinking companions. Although church membership is possibly equally important to all three urban groups, townsmen tend to participate more actively in clubs and other organizations which involve social interactions in larger groups. Kambuzuma respondents and their respective wives exhibit a stronger leaning to what is categorized as the 'modern' type of organization, whilst their Mufakose counterparts show greater interest in the 'traditional' type. The more active participation of migrants than townsmen in thrift societies is probably due to income differentials between the two survey groups.

It is conceivable that participation in urban organizational structure increases with duration of urban residence (cf. Zimmer 1970), and that stabilization differentials between the townsmen and migrant group account for differences in urban involvement. This idea is consistent with our working hypothesis inasmuch as a positive association between stabilization on the one hand and tenure and socio-economic security on the other hand is likewise postulated (cf. Chapter 5).

9) Stopforth's (1972:96, Tables XLII and XLIII) Highfield findings are consistent with the 1975 Study findings and support our argumentation. Only 7,6 per cent (N = 66) of Highfield males state they belong to a trade union, although 63,6 per cent have knowledge of the aim of a trade union.

The survey findings also indicate that although townsmen maintain many links to kinsmen in their urban social relations, their greater capacity for social participation permits them to involve themselves in both urban and rural relations. This finding is congruent with the conception of uneven social change (cf. Stopforth 1972) taking place in African urbanization today. Uneven social change further implies that urban involvement, in terms of personal and organizational relations, does not necessarily increase *systematically* with a rise in tenure and socio-economic status; a proposition which is supported by the comparison of Mufakose and Kambuzuma urban social relations.

CHAPTER 14.

1975 SURVEY FINDINGS:
COMMITMENT TO AN URBAN LIFE STYLE, BEHAVIOURAL AND ATTITUDINAL ASPECTS.

Commitment to town and an urban life style may be expressed in one's behaviour and value system. In this chapter a set of variables pertaining to behavioural and attitudinal aspects are introduced for which the methodological considerations made at the outset of the preceding chapter hold. The empirical evidence presented is largely exploratory and is intended to supplement the factual and objective urban commitment measures reviewed above. Items subsumed under the heading of 'urban orientation' or 'commitment to an urban life style' ('urban commitment' has been used to refer to 'commitment to continued urban residence' above) reflect attitudes and opinions on topics which may be regarded as central to urban life. Consistent with similar propositions put forward above, it is hypothesized that *urban tenure status and socio-economic status are positively associated with urban commitment and urban orientation in terms of attitudes and behaviour.*

Leisure activities: The modern concept of leisure is possibly an artefact of urban industrial society where the working day is abruptly separated from free time which may be utilized according to individual inclination.¹⁾ In rural life this sharp division is non-existent and it is therefore assumed that the migrant to town is confronted with a novel situation. African rural-urban migrants have joined the labour force at a later date than some of their counterparts elsewhere in the world. Right from the start of African urbanization, the working day and week have been sufficiently short²⁾ to make leisure needs and leisure activities an important part of urban life. In the majority of migration studies job commitment is a central topic and adjustments made by migrants in consuming leisure time is neglected. It is contended here that urban leisure pursuits constitute an integral part of commitment to town and merit special attention.

For purposes of this study only a short exploratory item pertaining to leisure activities could be included in the questionnaire schedule. A distinction between weekday and weekend leisure was made. Freely formulated statements of leisure activities were categorized as either typically 'urban' or 'non-urban' for each individual case. The introduction of an indeterminate category proved unavoidable. In most instances responses were accepted at face value, the rationale being that responses reflect an evaluation of behaviour patterns regardless of strict pattern adherence.

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- 1) Free time and leisure time are used as synonyms in this report (cf. Parker 1975).
 - 2) The domestic servant's working day and week are noteworthy exceptions. The domestic workers are however only marginally urban according to our classification of urban groups and can be disregarded in the present context.

'Urban' activities are those which are pursued in a modern consumer-type society and reflect the rigid division between work and free time and possibly achievement orientation. Amenities and services available in town as opposed to those available in the rural areas are utilized. Any activities which express a commitment to one's urban environment are included in this category.

'Non-urban' activities are those which are pursued in the rural areas or reflect 'encapsulation' from urban life.

The 'undecided' category applies to those activities which are not essentially urban in character and are pursued in both the urban and rural context. The lack of engagement in urban life or utilization of the leisure facilities available in town is a further characteristic of activities placed in the 'undecided' category.

Examples of the 'urban' category are active and passive sports, club activities, various recreational and entertainment activities including reading, listening to the radio, watching television, going to the cinema, etc. Hobbies and backyard activities such as gardening, poultry farming and fishing are also included under the urban heading. Although such activities might be pursued in the rural areas and involve skills acquired before coming to town, these activities take on a new significance in town. All activities which bring in extra cash are classified as 'urban'. 'Non-urban' activities chiefly include the visiting of relatives in town and home visits over weekends. Responses were placed in the 'undecided' category when respondents engaged in 'urban' and 'non-urban' activities simultaneously. If a person reported that he usually visited the beerhall (which is simply referred to as 'drinking' in the pertinent tables),³⁾ rested or engaged exclusively in religious activities after working hours, the response was placed in the 'undecided' rubric.

Table 14.1 shows that the proportion of weekday urban leisure activities increases systematically from the Hostels to the Kambuzuma sample. A small percentage in both township samples profess not to have any free time during the week. In the Hostels sample weekday leisure pursuits are more likely to be urban-oriented than weekend leisure pursuits, whereas the opposite relationship holds in the townships samples. A higher proportion of townsmen engage in non-urban activities over weekends than during the week.

3) The complexity of African drinking patterns makes it impractical to categorize leisure activities consisting solely of beerhall visits. The motivational and social interaction aspects of the activity are possibly more reliable indicators of rural-urban involvement than the activity itself.

Table 14.1. 1975 Study

Leisure activitiesWeekday leisure activities

Hostels: "What do you normally do after you finish work on weekdays?"

Townsmen: "How do you normally spend your free time during the week? What do you do when you get home from work?"

activity type	Hostels total %	Hostels married men %	Mufakose %	Kambuzuma %
typically urban	37,3	24,1	52,7	70,7
non-urban	8,7	8,4	2,7	-
undecided	54,0	67,5	40,7	26,7
n/a	-	-	4,0	2,7
	100,0 N = 150	100,0 N = 83	100,1 N = 150	100,1 N = 150

Weekend leisure activities

Hostels: "What do you normally do over weekends?"

Townsmen: "What do you do over weekends: for instance, what did you do over last weekend? - Is this the way you like to spend a weekend or would you prefer to spend it in some other way?"

activity type	Hostels total %	Hostels married men %	Mufakose %	Kambuzuma %
typically urban	42,0	30,1	38,0	57,3
non-urban	30,7	37,4	18,7	10,7
undecided	27,3	32,5	35,3	27,3
n/a	-	-	8,0	4,7
	100,0 N = 150	100,0 N = 83	100,0 N = 150	100,0 N = 150

By introducing a control for marital status it was discovered that married hostel dwellers exhibit leisure habits which are significantly different from their single counterparts. (Marital status: weekday and weekend leisure, $CC = ,29, ,26, 1 \text{ d.f.}, p < .01$). When the leisure pursuits of *married* sample respondents are compared, the trend is more consistent; the proportion of urban type leisure activities increases from the Hostels to the Kambuzuma sample for both weekday and weekend leisure as depicted in the schema below.

Proportion of married respondents pursuing urban-type leisure activities

	Hostels N = 83	Mufakose N = 150	Kambuzuma N = 150
on weekdays	24,1%----	> 52,7%----	> 70,7%
over weekends	30,1%----	> 38,0%----	> 57,3%

Leisure activities in detail:

Hostel dwellers: The majority of hostel dwellers retire to their rooms and rest in the evenings (cf. Table 14.2). Frequent references to taking a shower and preparing the evening meal were not recorded as leisure activities. Quite a sizable group read in the evenings. The few mentions of watching television in the communal halls are included in this rubric. Perhaps a dozen respondents participate in club activities, mainly sporting ones. Another dozen or more pay social visits to friends and relatives, and a similar number go to the beer-halls. A half dozen engage in religious activities either alone or with fellow believers.

It will be observed that weekday leisure activities are more retiring and require little expenditure if any. Over weekends migrants' activities are more varied and outgoing. Part of the weekly wage packet will be spent in many cases. Reading and studying are seldom mentioned as weekend pastimes. (The few mentions of attending to personal laundry were not recorded as leisure activities.) The various combinations of weekend activities are listed in Table 14.2. The major categories of weekend leisure are drinking (in the beerhall) (39,3%), active and spectator sports - almost exclusively football (32%), visiting friends and relatives (26%), rural home visits (16,7%), church attendance (14,7%), trips to town for shopping and window shopping etc. (7,3%).

Townsmen: For the most part townsmen engage in weekday leisure activities near their homes and in this respect their leisure behaviour differs little from that of migrants (cf. Table 14.2). Not being as spatially confined as hostel residents many townsmen do some gardening, a few keep some chickens or pursue some other type of backyard interest.⁴⁾

4) It is interesting to note that hostel dwellers living in the renovated hostel annex which consists of small bungalows in an enclosure rather than high-rise blocks have also taken to gardening in their spare time and grow vegetables and flowers (information supplied by the Hostels Superintendent in early 1975). Annex residents are not included in the 1975 Hostels sample.

Table 14.2. 1975 Study

Leisure activities (details) (Hostels)

<u>weekday leisure activities</u>	%	<u>weekend leisure activities</u>	%
rest	40,7	sports/recreation	15,3
read or study	25,3	drink	15,3
recreation, sports	9,3	football/drink	11,3
visit	8,7	visit	10,7
drink	7,3	go home*	8,7
religious activity	4,0	visit/drink	6,0
read and drink	2,0	drink or go home	5,3
visit and drink	1,3	church	4,7
read and visit	0,7	church/visit	4,7
read/visit/drink	0,7	town (visit places in town/ window shopping	4,0
		football/visit	3,3
		read or study	2,7
		church/go to town	2,0
		go home and/or to town	1,3
		go to church and/or home	1,3
		church/football	1,3
		read/visit	0,7
		drink/church	0,7
		visit/football/drink	0,7
	100,0		100,0
	N = 150		N = 150

Leisure activities (details) (Townships)

<u>weekday leisure activities</u>	%	<u>Kambuzuma</u>	%
Mufakose			
rest, stay at home	17,3	read, study, watch TV	24,0
drink	14,7	gardening, raising chickens	17,3
gardening, raising chickens	12,0	drink	13,3
sports, recreation, clubs	7,3	rest, stay at home	7,3
hobby, homecraft	7,3	sports, recreation, club	6,7
read, study, watch TV	6,7	family centred activity	6,0
religious activity	5,3	hobby, homecraft	6,0
gardening/drink or other activity	5,3	gardening/drink or other activity	4,7
read/drink	4,0	read/gardening	3,3
read/gardening	3,3	read/drink	2,7
family centred activity	2,7	religious activity	2,0
visit	2,0	read/visit	2,0
hobby/drink	1,3	visit	1,3
church/gardening	1,3	attend meetings	0,7
watch TV (listen to radio)/ drink	1,3	n/a	2,7

Continued

Table 14.2. Continued

Leisure activities (details) (Townships)

weekday leisure activities

Mufakose	%	Kambuzuma	%
drink/football or recreation	1,3		
read/visit	0,7		
visit/football or recreation	0,7		
several activities	0,7		
attend meetings or seminars	0,7		
n/a	4,0		
	99,9		100,0
	N = 150		N = 150

weekend leisure activities

Mufakose	%	Kambuzuma	%
go home*	13,3	sports, recreation, clubs	18,7
sports, recreation, clubs	12,7	visit	7,3
drink	8,0	drink	7,3
religious activity	7,3	gardening, raising chickens	7,3
hobby, homecraft, fishing	6,0	go home*	7,3
rest, stay home	4,7	hobby, homecraft, fishing	6,7
visit	4,7	religious activity	6,0
drink/football or entertainment	4,7	church/football	5,3
visit/drink	2,7	visit/football or enter-	
church/football	2,7	tainment	4,0
read, study, watch TV	2,0	drink or go home	3,3
gardening/drink or other acti-		rest, stay at home	2,7
ivity	2,0	visit drink	2,7
drink or go home	2,0	football/go home	2,7
visit/church	2,0		
other combinations:		other combinations:	
window shopping, go to town	1,3	read, study, watch TV	1,3
church/drink	1,3	drink/football or other	
church/gardening	1,3	entertainment	1,3
hobby or gardening/go home	1,3	visit/church	1,3
football/go home	1,3	excursions	1,3
read/drink	0,7	hobby/drink	1,3
read/visit/drink	0,7	read/drink	0,7
gardening, raising chickens	0,7	gardening/drink	0,7
read/gardening	0,7	read/gardening	0,7
visit/football or other enter-		family centred activity	0,7
tainment	0,7	visit or go home	0,7
church/football/drink	0,7	church/attend meetings	0,7
church/go home	0,7	attend meetings, seminars	0,7
hobby/drink	0,7	church/hobby	0,7
attend meetings/go home	0,7	gardening or hobby/go home	0,7

Continued

Table 14.2. Continued

Leisure activities (details) (Townships)weekday leisure activities

Mufakose	%	Kambuzuma	%
read/church	0,7	several	0,7
football/homecraft	0,7	n/a	5,3
church/hobby	0,7		
several	1,3		
other	0,7		
n/a	8,7		
	100,4		100,1
	N = 150		N = 150

* reference to rural home

Most of the backyard hobbies such as car repairs, carpentry etc., will be kept on a small scale in order not to draw unnecessary attention from the township authorities. Business enterprises as such are illegal in the township residential areas, but small-scale backyard hobbies and home-crafts often bring in a bit of cash income on the sideline. Sewing, mending, and shoe repair work are popular homecrafts among residents. Beer drinking on weekdays appears to be more common among township than hostel residents and possibly reflects the income differential between the two groups. More township respondents than migrants report that they watch television or listen to the radio as well as read. All these 'armchair' activities have been subsumed under the 'read' rubric for convenience sake. Visiting is less often referred to as a leisure activity by township respondents. Family centred activities such as supervising children's schoolwork might be regarded as the correlate to the hostel dweller's weekday visiting activities. Townsman in our survey differ in that Kambuzuma respondents made more frequent references to reading and similar sedentary activities, and fewer references to resting. The following enumeration gives the frequencies with which various weekday activities are mentioned by Mufakose (M) and Kambuzuma (K) respondents: Reading, listening to the radio, watching television (M: 16%/K: 32%), drinking, visiting the beerhall (M: 26,7%/K: 20,7%), gardening, raising chickens (M: 22%/K: 25,3%), resting, staying at home (M: 17,3%/K: 7,3%); sports, clubs, recreation outside the home (M: 10,7%/K: 7,3%), hobbies, homecrafts (M: 8,7%/K: 6%).

Over weekends townsmen attend social gatherings at sports grounds, beerhalls and other places of entertainment, worship at church and visit friends and relatives. Quite a number of townsmen visit their rural homes. (The few mentions of 'home duties' such as tidying the house and yard, attending to personal laundry etc., were not recorded as leisure activities.) Most respondents outline two or more activities and the combinations are listed in Table 14.2.

Generally speaking, the types of weekend leisure engaged in by migrants and townsmen are similar with the exception of gardening, hobbies, homecrafts and poultry farming, which are the prerogatives of townsmen. Fishing is also more popular with township residents over weekends. Whereas participation in meetings and seminars is regarded as an important leisure occupation by some townsmen, it is never mentioned by Hostels sample respondents. The following list conveys the differential emphasis placed on various weekend activities by the Mufakose (M) and Kambuzuma (K) respondents: Active and spectator sports - chiefly football, recreation, entertainment (cinema etc.) (M: 23,3%/K: 32%), drinking, visiting the beerhall (M: 23,3%/K: 17,3%), visiting the rural home (M: 19,3%/K: 14,7%), hobbies, gardening, homecrafts, fishing (M: 14%/K: 18%), attending church (M: 17,3%/K: 14%), visiting friends and relatives (M: 10,7%/K: 16%), reading etc., (M: 4,7%/K: 2,7%), resting, staying at home (M: 4,7%/K: 2,7%).

The higher frequency of entertainment items on the list above, suggests that townsmen might have a higher leisure expenditure than hostel dwellers. For the most part, townsmen state they are satisfied with the manner in which they spend their weekends. Dissatisfaction stems chiefly from limited finances for certain activities such as excursions. Several respondents thought they would visit the rural areas more often if travelling were not so expensive,⁵⁾ an argument which is also valid for hostel dwellers. According to some few respondents, there is absolutely nothing to do in African townships over weekends except drink and walk up and down the streets.

Ownership of consumer goods: Townsmen's attitudes toward the consumption of articles readily available in town were measured by requesting respondents to name the particular items they had purchased or were purchasing at the time of the survey. The standard list employed comprises eleven items which might be relevant to urban dwellers beyond the local context. In order to give survey findings significance on a more universal basis, a list presented to immigrants in a Latin American urban

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- 5) In the 1973/74 Mufakose Study the majority of Rhodesian respondents felt they had done too little rural home visiting in the past year (58%), and only few felt they had done enough (35%) or too much visiting (7%), N = 174, 100% = 168, (n/a including some non-visitors = 6).

centre (Ducoff 1970:395) was used to which a single item (lounge suite) was added.⁶⁾

On average Kambuzuma respondents possess one item more than Mufakose respondents, that is five instead of four items included in the list (cf. Table 14.3). No respondent owns more than ten out of the eleven standard items, and more Kambuzuma than Mufakose residents own seven or more items. The eleven items in order of popularity are listed for the two samples on Figure 15.

The popularity order is by and large similar in both townships. The most commonly owned items are the radio, lounge suite, gramophone, sewing machine and electric stove. Bicycles and motor cars are less widely owned. The high priority rating of the gramophone is partially due to the availability of radiograms which combine two items on the list. A larger proportion of Kambuzuma residents own each item on the list with the minor exceptions of the electric stove, the bicycle and the sewing machine, which are equally popular in both townships.⁷⁾

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- 6) Methodological notes: Responses were taken at face value, the rationale being that even if inaccuracies regarding ownership were recorded, indications of the respondent's priority system would be genuine. For this reason items on which purchase instalments are still being paid are considered as the respondent's property. Similarly the working order of appliances and vehicles was not inquired after. However, if an item was declared as useless or beyond repair by the respondent himself, it was not recorded as a possession. Only present ownership was recorded. Conceptions of various items may differ, e.g. the electric stove might consist of a hotplate only. Care was however taken to distinguish between a table with straight back chairs and an upholstered lounge suite arrangement. Consistent with general consensus among urban Africans, the former was not accepted as a lounge suite equivalent.
- 7) Irregularities in consumption patterns between township samples are readily explained. A coal stove is fitted in all Kambuzuma core units and purchased along with the house and plot. All Mufakose houses in the unlit areas are issued with coal stoves. Although it is commonly known that these stoves are unpopular, lessees provided with coal stoves might be less prepared to purchase a second elaborate cooking appliance such as an electric stove. In the Mufakose lit or core area, tenants are required to install their own cooking facilities. The motor car partially replaces the bicycle in the private transport sector in Kambuzuma. Bicycle ownership is therefore expected to be relatively less frequent in Kambuzuma than in Mufakose. Mufakose residents possibly consider the sewing machine to be more important than other consumer articles, because it provides a means of making an extra cash income.

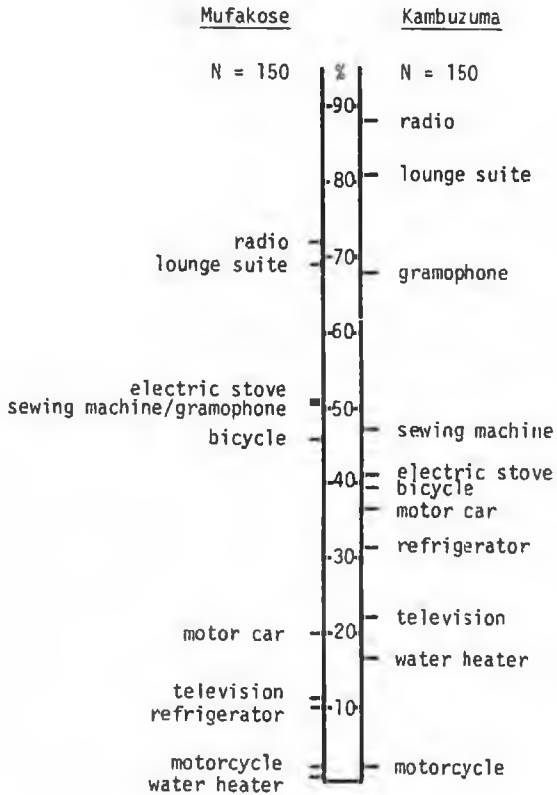


Figure 15 Percentage ownership of consumer goods in Mufakose and Kambuzuma
1975 Study

Table 14.3. 1975 Study

Ownership of consumer goods (Townships)

"Are you purchasing or do you own any of the following items?"

item	Mufakose %	Kambuzuma %	total items	Mufakose %	Kambuzuma %
sewing machine	50,7	47,3	0	3,3	1,3
water heater (geyser)	0,7	16,7	2	13,3	9,3
radio	74,7	88,7	3	16,7	14,7
gramophone	50,7	68,0	4	16,7	16,7
television	11,3	22,7	5	18,7	18,0
lounge suite	69,3	82,0	6	14,7	10,7
refrigerator	10,0	31,3	7	4,7	8,7
electric stove	51,3	41,3	8	2,0	11,3
motorcycle, scooter	2,0	4,7	9	0,7	2,0
bicycle	46,0	39,3	10	-	2,7
motor car	20,0	36,7	11	-	-
	N = 150	N = 150		100,1	100,1
mean				N = 150	N = 150
median				3,9	4,8
				4	5

The motorcycle is equally unpopular in both Mufakose and Kambuzuma. The higher number of refrigerator and geyser owners in Kambuzuma is very significant ($p < .001$), the higher number of radio, gramophone, lounge suite and television set owners in Kambuzuma is significant at the .01 level.

It is true that Mufakose respondents are curtailed in the use of some items on the list because of the non-existent or limited electricity supply in their homes; this in addition to a lower average income which places limits on consumption.

Hypothetical question: consumption pattern: The consumption pattern of hostel dwellers was measured on a different level. In this connection it is possibly more accurate to speak of consumption aspirations than consumption behaviour. Hostel respondents were asked the hypothetical question of how they would spend a large sum of money within a week.⁸⁾ Following an

8) A very similar question was posed to persons in one phase of a longitudinal study of change in a Shona ward (Chavunduka 1970:30). Unfortunately the response material was not evaluated and is not available for comparison.

evaluation outline employed by Grant (1969:6,24) in his urbanization scale, an 'urban' type response refers to the sum being spent in the urban centre. If the sum is spent outside the urban centre, that is in the rural areas, a 'non-urban' response is recorded. If the money is spent in both urban and rural contexts, the response is placed in an 'undecided' category.

Only a small proportion of hostel dwellers would spend part or all of the fictitious sum in the urban centre (cf. Table 14.4). In all other cases the cash would flow back to the rural home. The response to the hypothetical question shows up the strong rural orientation of hostel dwellers.⁹⁾ An indication of the growing sophistication of hostel respondents is nevertheless given in their ability to respond to the hypothetical question in the first place; only one person could not

- 9) This is the only variable tested for differences between hostel complexes which proved significant. Residents in the Mbare hostel complex, which is reserved for Municipal employees, scored a significantly higher 'non-urban' rating than other hostel residents. An explanation for variance within the Hostels sample has already been provided in Chapter 9, footnote 4. A strong rural orientation of hostel dwellers is likewise evident in the 1973 Hostels Study. It is suggested that although hostel dwellers would prize urban security of tenure and might envy townsmen in this respect, they do not wish to conform to an urban life style by leading a townsman's life (see table below).

Responses of Rhodesian respondents to items concerning townsmen on an Attitude-Behaviour Scale* 1973 Hostels Study N = 355.

- With respect to township dwellers, you yourself believe that it is usually wrong to expect hostel dwellers' families to be as closely knit as township dweller's families. (77,7% approval)
- You disagree that most people like you believe that men live in hostels because they prefer to keep their families in the rural areas. (73,5% approval)
- You have seen that people living with their families in town are more secure than the people living in hostels. (71,3% approval)
- You yourself would want to bring your family to town and live here like township dwellers (under certain conditions). (54,4% approval)
- You feel satisfied when you see that township dwellers have less supervision from the township authorities. (51,8% approval)
- More people believe that hostel dwellers are less often real 'townsmen' than township dwellers. (51,3% approval)

* cf. footnote 10 in Chapter 9 for comment on phrasing of items.

imagine himself in the position of disposing of 500 dollars.¹⁰⁾

Table 14.4. 1975 Study	
Hypothetical question: consumption pattern (Hostels)	
"If you were given \$500 and told to spend it within a week, how would you spend it?"	
response	%
typical urban	19,3
typical non-urban	68,7
undecided	12,0
detail response	100,0
rural home	18,0
livestock (cattle)	16,0
livestock and rural home	13,3
cattle and consumer goods	11,3
consumer goods (personal)	8,7
consumer goods (vehicle)	5,3
farm	3,3
urban home	3,3
cattle and farm implements	3,3
rural business	2,7
cattle and rural business	2,7
personal or family education	2,0
farm implements	2,0
lobola	1,3
rural home and farm implements	1,3
cattle and rural home and farm implements	1,3
other: bank account, urban or rural home, garden, party, gift	3,3
no empathy	0,7
	99,8
	N = 150

Suggestions for township improvement: Township residents were asked to make suggestions for improvement to the township in which they are living. The lengthy reviews of local problems by our respondents along with their

10) Obviously the fieldworkers' skill is partially responsible for the generally low refusal rate in the Hostels survey. On this particular item, the fieldworkers' reference to winning the Rhodesia State Lottery, which is extremely popular in all population sectors in Rhodesia, boosted interviewees' empathy.

constructive suggestions for improvements reflect a developing sense of community awareness among townsmen. In contrast to the more stringent method of dealing with this topic in the 1973/74 Mufakose Study, interviewees were given the opportunity to name as many items of improvement as they liked. All items were then ordered under various areas of improvement (cf. Table 14.5).

Table 14.5. 1975 Study		
Suggestions for township improvement (Townships)		
"What improvements do you think should be made in this township?"		
areas of improvement	Mufakose %	Kambuzuma %
introduction of home-ownership scheme	6,9	-
services	22,6	35,4
facilities	21,2	42,5
accommodation or stand size	17,9	6,6
installation of electricity	10,2	1,9
rents or rates	14,6	4,7
administration of township	6,6	9,0
	100,0	100,1
	N = 274*	N = 212*
no improvement	1	1
undecided, no comment	3	8
other	2	-
* multiple votes		

In both townships the chief area of improvement concerns services and facilities or amenities. The provision of services and facilities is a higher priority with Kambuzuma residents, in fact they comprise over three-quarters of all responses to the question. Only small proportions of votes refer to the township administration, the size of the stands, the rent structure (notably the service charge), and the installation of electricity.

In Mufakose improvements to accommodation are a high priority, followed by suggestions for rent revision and the installation of electricity in the unlit area. Smaller proportions of the sample would like to see a home-ownership scheme introduced in Mufakose and some changes in the administration of the township to be implemented. The 1975 findings for Mufakose are consistent with suggestions for improvements and urban priorities stated by the 1973/74 Mufakose respondents (cf. Tables 9.18 and 9.19 in Chapter 9).

The emphasis on types of township improvements by Mufakose and Kambuzuma respondents is most probably accounted for by differential tenure and administration factors (Kambuzuma is a former Government Township, Mufakose has always been a Municipal Township, cf. Chapter 3, especially footnote 13). Suggestions for accommodation and tenure improvement is

largely irrelevant for Kambuzuma respondents, whose tenure aspirations have been met and who are responsible for improving their homes themselves. By the same token, the adoption of this policy principle of community self-help toward the provision of facilities and services has left Kambuzuma residents less privileged than their Mufakose neighbours, who have been supplied with community facilities by the municipal administration in what might be termed a 'paternalistic' manner. At the time of the survey period Kambuzuma residents were conducting a somewhat heated debate on this issue with the authorities concerned, which accounts for the high number of 'no comment' responses to the township improvement item among the Kambuzuma interviewees.

Tribal role: Approximately four-fifths of all respondents assume no tribal role and only 2, 14 and 8 per cent in the Hostels, Mufakose and Kambuzuma samples respectively claim to play some role in tribal society (cf. Table 14.6). Some persons also traced a lineage relationship to a person in a high tribal position or thought they might be called upon to play such a role later in life. The larger percentages of hostel dwellers in these response groups are possibly due to their average greater youthfulness. This might also account for the low affirmative response in the Hostels sample. Again, responses were accepted at face value and the mere attempt to establish a connection to a prestigious position in tribal society was considered an indicator of a more traditional, non-urban orientation.

Table 14.6. 1975 Study

Tribal role

"Do you have a specific tribal role?"

response	Hostels %	Mufakose %	Kambuzuma %
no	84,7	78,7	88,0
yes	2,0	14,0	5,3
uncertain, eventuality	6,7	} 7,3	} 6,7
related to person with role	6,7		
	100,1	100,0	100,0

The tribal role item was originally framed to test the hypothesis, that persons with tribal roles would visit the rural home more frequently than others. However, it would appear that once a migrant is working in town, the effect of holding a position of esteem in tribal society has less bearing on urban commitment and rural visiting behaviour in particular than formerly presumed.¹¹⁾ Some of the few respondents with tribal roles, who

11) Note that the emigration selection principal represented by the tribal position is not being considered here. In fact the low incidence of tribal roles among all sample respondents tends to confirm the supposition, that occupation of a high ranking position in the emitting context deters tribesmen from emigrating in the first place.

are certainly headmen in their respective villages, have passed on their rights and duties to a close relative while they are working in town. They are kept posted on home issues by arranging for regular messages to be sent to them in town. Hence, there is no need for absentee headmen to visit their rural homes more often than other migrants in town.

Rural-urban identification: An increasing number of persons consider themselves townfolk or persons of both town and country in the postulated Harare, Mufakose, Kambuzuma sample order (cf. Table 14.7). This finding confirms expectations, and differences between samples are very significant (Harare/Mufakose: chi square = 9,9, 2 d.f., $p < .01$; Mufakose/Kambuzuma: chi square = 72,6, 2 d.f., $p < .001$).

Table 14.7. 1975 Study

Rural-urban identification

"Do you consider yourself a person of the town or the country?"

response	Hostels %	Mufakose %	Kambuzuma %
town	6,0	17,3	40,0
country	88,0	75,3	28,7
both	6,0	4,7	30,0
town now, country later	-	0,7	1,3
undecided	-	2,0	-
	100,0 N = 150	100,0 N = 150	100,0 N = 150

Preference for cattle or pension at retirement: The choice of cattle or pension at retirement has been employed as an indicator of rural-urban orientation in several studies conducted among Salisbury urban Africans. It is assumed that the cattle choice manifests a traditional orientation, and the pension choice indicates ready acceptance of a modern cash economy. The cattle choice is made by slightly over half of the Hostels and Mufakose respondents, whilst only 33 per cent of the Kambuzuma respondents would prefer cattle to pension at retirement (cf. Table 14.8). The difference in choice made by Kambuzuma respondents on the one hand, and

Hostels and Mufakose respondents on the other hand is significant.¹²⁾

Preference for cattle or pension at retirement			
"Would you prefer cattle or pension when you stop working/at retirement?"			
response	Hostels %	Mufakose %	Kambuzuma %
cattle	52,7	54,7	32,7
pension	47,3	42,7	61,3
both	-	2,0	4,7
undecided	-	0,7	1,3
	100,0	100,1	100,0
	N = 150	N = 150	N = 150

12) The 1975 findings confirm earlier survey results:

Migrants: 72,1 per cent of Rhodesian hostel dwellers (N = 358) chose cattle in the 1973 Study.

Townsmen: Stopforth (1972:76, Table XVII) reports 66,7 per cent in favour of cattle for Highfield males (N = 66). Fifty-nine, seven per cent of Rhodesian Mufakose respondents would prefer cattle in the 1973/74 Mufakose Study (N = 174).

Elites: Approximately one-fifth (21,6%, N = 37) of Chitepo Road residents in Highfield make the cattle choice (Stopforth 1973a: Table XVII).

It appears that the cattle choice has generally lost in favour of the pension choice since the earlier studies. It is suggested that this change in response is not due to the unreliability of the indicator, but reflects a genuine attitude change in urban African groups. In more recent times the introduction of pension schemes for urban Africans has been widely discussed and some moves have been made to provide more African workers with this type of old age security. The qualifications to responses make it clear that the concept of a pension is more tangible to interviewees today than it was only a few years ago. For this reason the indicator might in fact be dated and its usefulness outlived. Either the question must be rephrased to frame conditions more precisely, or responses must be jointly scored with the relevant motive. This was not done in the present survey although qualifications to responses were readily accepted. All the other surveys cited above include a distribution of qualifications to responses. It is apparent that some persons choose cattle today, not for traditional reasons, but simply as an additional investment, because they expect to receive a pension as a matter of course ("I shall get a pension anyway"). Moreover, the current high rate of inflation makes investment in cattle seem all the more rational today - even to the most urban committed townsman.

Hypothetical conversations: Towards the end of the interview period respondents in the townships samples were requested to look through a set of pages, each page depicting silhouettes of two or three townsmen airing their views on various topics related to urban commitment. Respondents were asked to select the person on each page who made the statement which would most likely meet the approval of persons who lived and worked with him.¹³⁾

Respondents made the following selections on the seven conversation items (cf. Table 14.9).

Conversation 1: Forty-nine and 67 per cent of Mufakose and Kambuzuma respondents respectively agree with the statement that an old man who has lived in town all his life should be allowed to stay in town if he wishes (difference very significant, chi square = 9,2, 1 d.f., $p < .01$).

Conversation 2: Nineteen and 40 per cent of Mufakose and Kambuzuma respondents respectively agree with the statement: it is the wife's duty to stay in town when her husband is living there even if she does not have a job in town (difference very significant, chi square = 16,0, 1 d.f., $p < .001$). Surprisingly enough, actual behaviour is supportive of the attitude toward the wife's commitment to town. It was observed that approximately 23 per cent of wives live in the rural areas in both samples and a further 25 and 32 per cent of Mufakose and Kambuzuma wives respectively engage in seasonal visiting (cf. Table 11.11 in Chapter 11). The inconsistency between attitude and corresponding behaviour is however greater for Kambuzuma respondents in that family separation meets disapproval but is nevertheless practised in a substantial proportion of cases.

13) This interview technique is commonly used in social inquiries. In the present survey the procedure was closely modelled on a survey conducted by Schlemmer (1972:160). - The order of the pages in the set was identical in all interviews. Captions read in the vernacular. Fieldworkers read out the captions to a small proportion of persons in both samples, the majority read the statements on their own. Respondents dictated their choice of statement to the fieldworker who was instructed to remain impartial throughout the exercise. With the exception of one conversation the two shadow figures were kept constant and the order of statements expressing a more modern or urban committed outlook were reversed from one page to the next in the set.

Conversation 3: A higher proportion of Mufakose respondents (27%) agree that persons should take an active interest in community affairs.¹⁴⁾ A higher proportion of Kambuzuma respondents agree that a person should take an active interest in politics (25%). Forty-six and 45 per cent of the Mufakose and Kambuzuma samples respectively agree that politics and community affairs are inseparable and an interest should be taken in both (difference slightly significant, chi square = 6,6, 2 d.f., $p < .05$). A high proportion of non-responses were recorded on this item due to the political content.¹⁵⁾

Conversation 4: A higher proportion of Kambuzuma (41%) than Mufakose respondents (26%) agree that buying a house is a good thing, because if he wishes a man can live in it with his family when he retires. The majority in each sample regard the purchase of a house as a good investment (difference significant, chi square = 8,0, 1 d.f., $p < .01$). Quite a number of persons were undecided on this item and said they thought both statements would meet general approval.

- 14) Interest in community affairs was tested in the 1973/74 Mufakose Study by the following item:

Knowledge of Advisory Board. 1973/74 Mufakose Study (Rhodesians)	
response	%
Advisory Board could be improved	31,4
Advisory Board could not be improved	8,1
no knowledge of Advisory Board	60,5
	100,0
	N = 172
non-response	2

Qualification for Advisory Board could be improved response:

Power should be increased (27,8%), communication with constituency needs improvement (22,2%), type of Board member needs improvement (16,7%), Board activity should be increased (11,1%), fatalistic outlook on improvement (7,4%), representation inadequate (7,4%), Board accused of collaboration with Government (3,7%), don't know (1,9%), non-response (1,9%), N = 54.

Qualification for Advisory Board could not be improved response:

Advisory Board is functioning well (21,4%), non-response (78,6%)
N = 14.

- 15) The response of self-confessed African National Council members in both townships to the three item statements is no differently distributed than that of the sample as a whole.

Conversation 5: It is commonly agreed that a man should have only the number of children he can afford to educate and support adequately. The proportion of persons agreeing is slightly higher in Kambuzuma (74%) than Mufakose (63%) (difference slightly significant, chi square = 3,8, 1 d.f., $p < .10$).¹⁶⁾

Conversations 6 and 7: The majority of respondents agree that a city like Salisbury belongs to everyone who works in it, Africans included, and that areas given to Africans are too poor and backward and they should be allowed to have a better life everywhere in this country. The proportions agreeing are significantly higher in Kambuzuma than Mufakose (differences very significant, chi squares = 20,7/7,6, 1 d.f., $p < .001/.01$).¹⁷⁾

-
- 16) According to Geraty (1974) the major advantages of a large family in Rhodesia are seen to be support for parents in old age or in times of need, family mutual aid and labour assistance, status in the community and mortality fears. For a population policy to have relevance for the Rhodesian context, Geraty maintains it should start at the level of the security needs of the individual family. - The lower percentage agreement of the Kambuzuma sample with the item emphasizing the security aspect of large families may partially result from their superior security of tenure in town.
- 17) These last two conversation items 6 and 7 represent a replication of items first used by Schlemmer (1972:160) in his study among urban Africans in Durban, South Africa. The conversation items were adapted to local conditions by changing the references to places, otherwise the phrasing is identical and findings are directly comparable. In a first Durban sample (N = 394 African adults), Schlemmer observed that a substantial number of long-term residents maintain rural contacts despite identification with the city as home. A tendency to choose the city as home or place of retirement increases significantly with relatively longer duration of urban residence, family accommodation status and higher educational/occupational status; with the same variable constellation rural contacts tend to decrease significantly. Schlemmer concludes that continued rural commitment is an unwilling response to government policy concerning South African urban Africans, considering that 61 per cent of a second Durban sample (N = 67 male African adults) agree that "Durban belongs to everyone ..." and 57 per cent agree that "... Africans should be allowed to have a better life everywhere in the country". A tendency to agree with the above statements increases with absolute and relative duration of urban residence; agreement with the first item also increases with urban identification. No significant increase in the percentage agreement is reported for higher educational/occupational status and a control for family accommodation is not mentioned.

Based on Schlemmer's observations in Durban, it suggests itself that the higher percentage of Kambuzuma than Mufakose respondents expressing the view that Africans should have a stake in the city (item 6) is more closely related to their privileged urban tenure status than to their higher socio-economic status.

Table 14.9. 1975 Study

Hypothetical conversations (Townships)

"In the following pictures two or three persons are talking to each other. Please select the person with whom most of the people you know, who live and work with you, would agree."

item	Mufakose	Kambuzuma
	%	%
1. An old man who has lived in town all his life should be allowed to stay on in town if he wishes. Older townsmen should leave the urban area to make room for younger men. An old man's place is in the rural home.	49,3	66,7
	47,3	30,7
	96,6	97,4
	3,3	2,7
undecided*, non-response	99,9	100,1
2. It is a wife's duty to stay in town when her husband is living in town even if she does not have a job in town. It is better for a wife to stay in the rural areas for part or all of the agricultural season if she does not have a job in town.	18,7	40,0
	79,3	59,3
	98,0	99,3
	2,0	0,7
undecided*, non-response	100,0	100,0
3. A person should take an active interest in community affairs. Politics and community affairs are inseparable; a person should take an interest in both politics and community affairs. A person should take an active interest in politics.	27,3	18,0
	46,0	45,3
	15,3	25,3
	88,6	88,6
	11,3	11,3
undecided*, non-response	99,9	99,9
4. Buying a house in town is a good thing, because if a man wishes, he can live in it with his family, when he retires. Buying a house in town is a good investment, because a person can sell it for a good price when he retires.	26,0	41,3
	66,0	51,3
	92,0	92,6
	8,0	7,3
undecided*, non-response	100,0	99,9

Continued

Table 14.9. Continued		
item	Mufakose %	Kambuzuma %
5. A man should only have the number of children he can afford to educate and support adequately. A man should have many children in order to have someone to support him in old age.	63,3	74,0
	34,0	24,0
	97,3	98,0
	undecided*, non-response	2,7	2,0
6. A city like Salisbury belongs to everyone who works in it, Africans included. A city like Salisbury does not belong to us Africans, our places are elsewhere in the rural areas.	100,0	100,0
	60,7	85,3
	36,0	14,0
	undecided*, non-response	96,7	99,3
	3,3	0,7
7. The areas given to Africans are too poor and backward - Africans should be allowed to have a better life everywhere in this country. Africans are misguided if they think they will ever be equal to others in town - they must hope for a better life in their own areas.	100,0	100,0
	84,7	96,7
	11,3	3,3
	undecided*, non-response	96,0	100,0
	4,0	-
	100,0	
	N = 150	N = 150

The differential choice of statements made by Mufakose and Kambuzuma respondents confirms expectations. Kambuzuma residents with their securer foothold in town evince attitudes conveying a higher urban commitment than their Mufakose neighbours. This trend is particularly evident in responses to the items 1, 2 and 4, which is consistent with the greater interest of Kambuzuma residents in urban retirement expressed earlier (cf. Chapter 10).

To sum up this chapter's findings, we observe differences between the three survey samples in respect of leisure pursuits, consumption patterns, and various indicators of rural-urban identification, orientation and commitment. Whereas the difference in behavioural aspects is often less distinct, the difference in rural-urban orientation is more marked. The expression of an urban outlook and urban life style is most pronounced in the Kambuzuma sample.

Conclusions: At the end of this chapter the reporting of the 1975 Survey findings is complete. Various migration and urbanization topics including stabilization, residential patterns, rural contacts, urban involvement in terms of investments, personal and organizational networks, and urban commitment and orientation at the attitude-behavioural level have been covered. In many instances the findings of earlier studies have been corroborated. The empirical evidence on the above migration and urbanization aspects supports the working hypothesis put forward at the outset of reporting: *with increasing urban security and socio-economic status more active involvement in urban life takes place.*



CHAPTER 15.MULTIVARIATE ANALYSIS: DETERMINANTS OF MIGRATION
AND URBANIZATION, 1973 HOSTELS STUDY.

In the preceding section of this report, the evidence to substantiate the general effect of tenure and socio-economic position on urbanization was given. In the present section a closer examination of differential tenure positions and their particular urban status constellations is made. To this aim we shall draw on the results of a series of multivariate analyses applied to the Salisbury Studies in their chronological order, commencing with the 1973 Hostels Study.

Method: A cross-tabulation exercise (Møller 1974b) was undertaken for 60 variables with 388 data sets. Description and categorization of variables, which have been introduced in the course of reporting so far, are given in Appendix B. The variables were divided into four groups: 'background', 'migration', 'rural contacts' and 'rural-urban orientation' variables.¹⁾ By and large the direction of causality was assumed to proceed from the first to the last group of variables. Variables in the first group were cross-tabulated with a selection of variables in other groups. The selection of cross-tabulations executed, along with the substantive cell values for extreme distributions are listed in Appendix B.

The variables included in the exercise with the abbreviations used for reference purposes (in capital letters) are given below:

Group 1. socio-demographic background variables:
AGE, distance of place of ORIGIN from immigration centre, URBan GENeration, OCCupational group, EDUCational STATUS, INCOME, MAR(R)ital Status, MARRIage TYPE, MARRIage DURation, number of CHILDREN.

Group 2. migration variables: URBan EXPerience since 15 years of age, an index of STABILization (proportion of working life spent in town), time spent in HOSTel RESidence, number of JOBS held in town, the YEAR of the first JOB, the number of HOME VISITS after loss of employment made since coming

1) It will be noted that this division of variables is less elaborate than the one used in reporting on the 1975 Study data. For example, 'income' is included with background variables, 'duration of hostel residence' is grouped with migration variables and 'land rights' subsumed under the 'rural-urban orientation' heading.

to town originally, a DECimal INdEx relating the number of home visits to the total time spent in town, the Longest Rural Visit (LRV), and the Reason for this Longest Rural Visit (RLRV).

Group 3. rural contact variables: The REMITtance FREquency, the REMITtance VALue, the habit of visiting the bus TERMINUS in order to receive/send messages or remittances, home visits at HOLIDAY times, home visits during annual LEAVE, the visiting PATTERN, visiting FREquency, visiting TIME, COST involved in visiting.

Group 4. rural-urban orientation variables: The reliance on agents inside or outside the family in ten need situations (FRI, ... FRIO), tendency toward family reliance in need situations (TFR), Rural-Urban residence PREFerence (RUPREF), possession of LAND rights, preference for residing in a hostel or in a township (HTPREF), the number of RELatives residing in TOWN, the number of VISITs received in town from the extended FAMily residing in the rural area, the preference for cattle or pension on retirement (CPPREF), the preference for the son to reside in town or the rural area (SONPREF), the adherence to the majority attitude toward urban accommodation on six items (ABACC1, ... ABACC6), the adherence to the majority attitude toward township dwellers on six items (ABT1, ... ABT6), general adherence to the majority attitude toward urban accommodation (ABACC), general adherence to the majority attitude toward township dwellers (ABT).

Congruent with the exploratory nature of the exercise, the first task undertaken was the elimination of weak variables in the set. A higher number of variables with partial overlap had been included in each group in order to offer a choice of the strongest of two or more related variables. The same rationale applied to the utilization of partial and summary indicators for family reliance and attitude items.

Elimination of variables:

The urban generation variable proved to be unfruitful because of the small number of cases. Consonant with their greater youthfulness, second generation migrants are better educated, but - possibly because of their young age - are neither highly stabilized nor do they exhibit an urban outlook.

Likewise occupation which was only nominally categorized according to sector, did not contribute substantially to the knowledge of the migration or stabilization process, and was eliminated from the variable set.

The inclusion of partial indicators in the rural-urban orientation rubric proved particularly useful, because of the general weakness of these variables. Associational trends could for the most part be detected in the partial but not always in the summary indicator as is shown in the low number of statistically significant cross-tabulation distributions including rural-urban orientation variables listed in Appendix B.

The covariation of the TERMINUS variable with other rural contact variables was registered as consistent and interesting but unfruitful for theoretical purposes.

It was confirmed that URban EXperience is extremely closely associated to both the age and stabilization variables, the latter variable being an age-corrected derivative. It was decided that as stabilization has a similar meaning, but greater predictive value than urban experience, only the stabilization variable should be retained.

Reduction of variables within the migration cluster:

With the aim of reducing the number of variables even further, the inter-relationships between variables in various 'clusters' were examined. The clustering effect of migration variables was detected in the similarity of covariation with the variables age and stabilization. The stabilization variable was detached from the migration cluster because of its close relationship to the rural orientation set. After analysing the dependence structure within the migration variable cluster, a choice of the most sensitive variable for future survey purposes was made.

Table 15.1. 1973 Hostels Study

Relationship between migration variables expressed in CC-correlation values

variable identification	15	16	17	18	19	20
15 JOB		,43	,66	,24	,39	,49
16 YEARJOB	,43		,27	,28	,40	,36
17 HOVISIT	,66	,27		,52	,38	,45
18 DECIND	,24	,28	,52		,17	,26
19 LRV	,39	,40	,38	,17		,58
20 RLRV	,49	,36	,45	,26	,58	

In Table 15.1, the variable JOB relates most closely to the other variables in the set. All correlations are significant and relationships tend to be linear. Change of job increases with the time period that has elapsed after the first employment in town (YEARJOB). The number of home visits after loss of employment (HOVISIT) increases with change of employment

as well as with the decimal index measuring the rate of home visits per year (DECIND). The relationship to the longest rural visit (LRV) is not altogether linear; the proportion of respondents who have spent long periods away from town increases with change of jobs. Consonant with this finding, respondents with fewer changes of jobs state 'visiting' as the chief reason (RLRV) for the longest rural sojourn during their careers, whereas those with more frequent changes of jobs will more often state 'loss of employment'.

The analysis of all the other distributions between variables in the cluster yields a consistent pattern. The ranking of the usefulness of the cluster variables for future survey purposes was given in the order JOB, LRV, HOVISIT, RLRV, YEARJOB, DECIND. The rationale for this ranking order is that JOB is indicative of all other cluster variables, relationships with other cluster variables are by and large linear, and the information is readily obtainable. Although LRV is likewise easy to observe and relates to other cluster variables, JOB might be causally prior to LRV. HOVISIT is only measurable in cases where more than one job is held and is therefore regarded as dependent on the two foregoing variables. RLRV is subjectwise dependent on LRV and can only be measured in nominal categories. YEARJOB relates less closely to other variables in the set. DECIND is a derivative of HOVISIT and YEARJOB and can be discarded as less sensitive when compared to the superordinate variable HOVISIT.

Reduction of variables within the rural contact cluster:

Visiting behaviour (PATTERN) is best characterized by FREQUENCY and TIME spent in the rural areas. HOLIDAY visits are more indicative of higher frequency and higher travel COST, whereas LEAVE visits are more determinant of increased time spent in the rural area. Holiday visiting is more popular than leave visiting. Almost all occasional and regular visitors visit the rural areas on at least one holiday occasion, but only 60 and 70 per cent of occasional and regular visitors respectively visit during their annual leave.

Remittance frequency (REMITFR) does not relate significantly to the sum of money sent at one time (REMITVAL), but otherwise remittance behaviour and visiting behaviour tend to be consistently and significantly inter-related. Respondents who remit more frequently, visit more frequently and spend more time in the rural areas. Travel expenditure for regular remitters is higher, indicating that more mileage is covered per year.²⁾ The relationships between cluster variables are linear and closer than those with extra-cluster variables.

2) The parameter 'distance travelled per annum when visiting' had to be excluded from the exercise due to faulty categorization. However, as the cost variable is closely related to distance travelled, this error is not serious.

Visiting the bus TERMINUS is very closely related to remittance frequency, suggesting that if a migrant does not take the cash remittance home personally, he will have to go to the bus terminus to arrange for a friend or the bus driver on the home route to deliver the remittance to his family at home. Most likely he will also check if his remittance has been delivered to his family in the rural area when the bus returns after a round trip. Obviously this mode of cash transaction is most convenient for persons with their rural homes nearby, hence the significant correlations between the variables TERMINUS and ORIGIN.

The satisfactorily close and consistent relationship of the PATTERN visiting parameter with all other rural contact variables provides us with a simple measuring device for future survey purposes.

Control variables:

At this point it should be noted that no control was introduced for foreign migrants in the 1973 multivariate analysis. With foreigners accounting for only 32 of 388 or 8,2 per cent of data sets, a control was thought unnecessary. It had however been realized that the foreign migrants in the sample were generally more senior, less educated, and possessed more urban experience than other hostel dwellers. Furthermore they tended to be more urban oriented than the sample as a whole. A smaller proportion of foreign than indigenous migrants claim rights to land in the rural area.³⁾

- 3) In the 1973 Hostels Study the significance of foreign origin for migration and rural contact behaviour had been recognized (Møller 1973: 108ff.). A higher proportion of the foreign subgroup than the sample as a whole are single. The difference is not statistically significant, but nevertheless indicative of foreigners' rural home visiting patterns. As the table below shows, foreigners are very much older, have on average been working in town longer, have had more urban experience and are more frequently long-term hostel residents than the average hostel resident.

Age and migration parameters for 1973 Hostels respondents: total and foreign subgroup.				
variable description	total	foreigners	t-value	p <
mean age in years	29,3	41,4	1,5	.01
mean urban experience after age 15	8,7	14,1	1,4	.01
mean years residence in hostels	4,1	8,0	2,4	.05
year of first job in town (no. years ago)	8,4	14,3	1,4	.01

Continued

3) Continued

Consistent with their more established urban presence, foreign migrants tend to exhibit a more pronounced urban orientation. This is the case as regards residence preference for one's self and one's family and the choice of a pension form of old age security.

Percentage distribution on rural-urban orientation variables in the 1973 Hostels Study by total and foreign subgroup.				
residence preference	total	foreigners	chi.sq.	p <
township house	90,1	75,0		
hostel	9,9	25,0	1 d.f.	
N =	382	32	6,6	.01
<u>preference for living with family</u>				
in rural area	76,0	40,6		
in town	24,0	59,4	1 d.f.	
N =	379	32	18,8	.001
<u>preference for old age security</u>				
cattle	72,4	32,3		
pension	27,6	67,7	1 d.f.	
N =	370	31	21,7	.001
<u>preference for son's residence</u>				
in rural area	82,3	62,1		
in town	17,7	37,9	1 d.f.	
N =	328	29	0,004	.95

Foreign hostel dwellers differ most markedly from other migrants in their visiting behaviour. They maintain far fewer rural contacts although a similar proportion as in the sample as a whole claim land rights in the rural areas. The distance factor is most probably decisive here. The foreigners constitute just over half of the non-visiting subgroup in the Hostels sample.

A case study of 1973 Hostels foreign non-visitors reveals that they tend to adhere either to the a) circulatory migration pattern or the b) immigration pattern. In case a) visits are spaced, so that one might speak of under-achievers in the occasional visiting group. Cost, time and distance involved in visiting the rural home tend to reduce visiting frequency. Visits to the home abroad often coincide with unemployment and tend to be of long duration. B) cases include a substantial number of single persons (including widowers and divorcees) who have reduced their rural contacts congruent with the permanent stabilization proposition.

Continued

3) Continued

Percentage distribution on rural contact and land rights variables in the 1973 Hostels Study by total and foreign subgroup.				
land rights	total	foreigners	chi sq.	p <
yes	60,7	65,6		
no	39,3	34,4	1 d.f.	
N =	384	32	0,0001	.99
<u>visiting pattern</u>				
no visiting	9,9	63,7		
occasional visiting	48,5	27,3		
regular visiting	41,6	9,1	2 d.f.	
N =	392	33	327,0	.001

With the exception of the ORIGIN variable, foreign migrants are included in all variable distributions in the multivariate analysis. In some cases the over-representation of foreign migrants in the lowest educational category and the highest age group is reflected in covariations between variables. This is particularly evident in the close association between age and education on the one hand and rural land rights on the other.

The 1973 Hostels Model: The chief aim of the multivariate analysis exercise was to map out a network of empirical inter-relationships between variables which could be interpreted within the framework of migration and urbanization theory. This network is referred to as a model, denoting the systematic relationship between theoretically relevant variables or variable clusters.

By isolating variable clusters and then identifying the determinants of clusters and cluster inter-relationships (cf. Table 15.2), a relatively simple and consistent empirical model could be developed from the 1973 Hostels data as shown in Figure 16.

The most distinctive feature of the 1973 Hostels Model is the *pervasiveness of age determination*.⁴⁾ The interpretation of the relationship between age and all other variable clusters is consistent with the typical migrant career paradigm (cf. Mitchell 1969a) and the notion of rural dependence due to lack of urban social security (cf. Wilson 1972a). This is best demonstrated by tracing the relationship of the age variable to the other variable clusters shown in Figure 16.

In many instances the age effect is coupled with that of *marital status* and *education*. Younger hostel dwellers tend to have attained a higher standard of education and vice versa, reflecting the recent expansion of the education system in the study context. There is a tendency for older hostel dwellers to be married and to have larger families, that is more children, than younger hostel dwellers.

The effect of age on *migration* parameters is most striking. Age is an excellent indicator of urban experience. Older migrants have been living in hostels longer than other migrants and took their first job in town long ago. A higher proportion (27%) of the older migrants have stayed at the rural home for periods over one year at some stage of their migrant careers. Long rural sojourns for unemployment reasons become more frequent in the senior migrant group. As shown above, the interdependence structure of variables relating to migration history might serve as an illustration of the typical migrant career.

4) One might prefer to speak of age in conjunction with marital status (domestic-age), but the slightly closer relationship between age and migrant career variables than between *marital status* and migrant career variables may justify not altering the original version of the model (Møller 1974b) which emphasized age determination.

Table 15.2. 1973 Hostels Study

Determinants of key variables included in multivariate analysis

Relationships given with CC-correlation values

cluster and variable	d e t e r m i n a n t s				
<u>socio-demographic background:</u>					
MARRST	AGE	,49	EDUCST	,22	
MARRDUR	AGE	,59	EDUCST	,35	
MARRTYPE	AGE	,41	EDUCST	,24	
CHILDREN	AGE	,50	EDUCST	,32	
EDUCST	AGE	,44	URBGEN	,20	
INCOME	YEARJOB	,23	AGE	,21	URBEXP ,18 MARRST ,18
<u>migration:</u>					
JOB	AGE	,26	MARRST	,24	
HOVISIT	MARRST	,25	INCOME	,23	AGE ,15
LRV	AGE	,37	MARRST	,30	STAB ,22 EDUCST ,21
YEARJOB	AGE	,57	MARRST	,45	EDUCST ,36 MARRTYPE ,26
URBEXP	AGE	,52	MARRST	,40	EDUCST ,30 MARRTYPE ,27
STAB	URBEXP	,48	MARRST	,19	
HOSRES	AGE	,40	MARRST	,26	EDUCST ,23 STAB ,21 INCOME ,20
<u>rural contacts (visiting):</u>					
PATTERN	ORIGIN	,45	EDUCST	,28	MARRST ,27 AGE ,22 STAB ,20
	(HOLIDAY	,59)*			
FREQ	ORIGIN	,51	MARRST	,28	STAB ,19
COST	MARRST	,33	ORIGIN	,26	STAB ,20 AGE ,19 HOSRES ,17
	(HOLIDAY	,34)*			
TIME	ORIGIN	,41	MARRST	,19	(LEAVE ,42)*
(HOLIDAY)	EDUCST	,25	ORIGIN	,23	OCC ,23
<u>rural contacts (communication):</u>					
REMITFR	MARRST	,43	ORIGIN	,20	(PATTERN,41)*
REMITVAL	INCOME	,24	ORIGIN	,23	EDUCST ,22
TERMINUS	ORIGIN	,32	REMITFR	,19	EDUCST ,18
VISITFAM	AGE	,20	EDUCST	,20	(PATTERN,26)*
<u>rural-urban orientation:</u>					
LAND	AGE	,44	MARRST	,44	MARRTYPE ,25 EDUCST ,25 INCOME ,18
SONPREF	STAB	,15			
ABACC	MARRST	,15			
TFR	AGE	,17	STAB	,15	
* brackets indicate cluster inter-relationships					

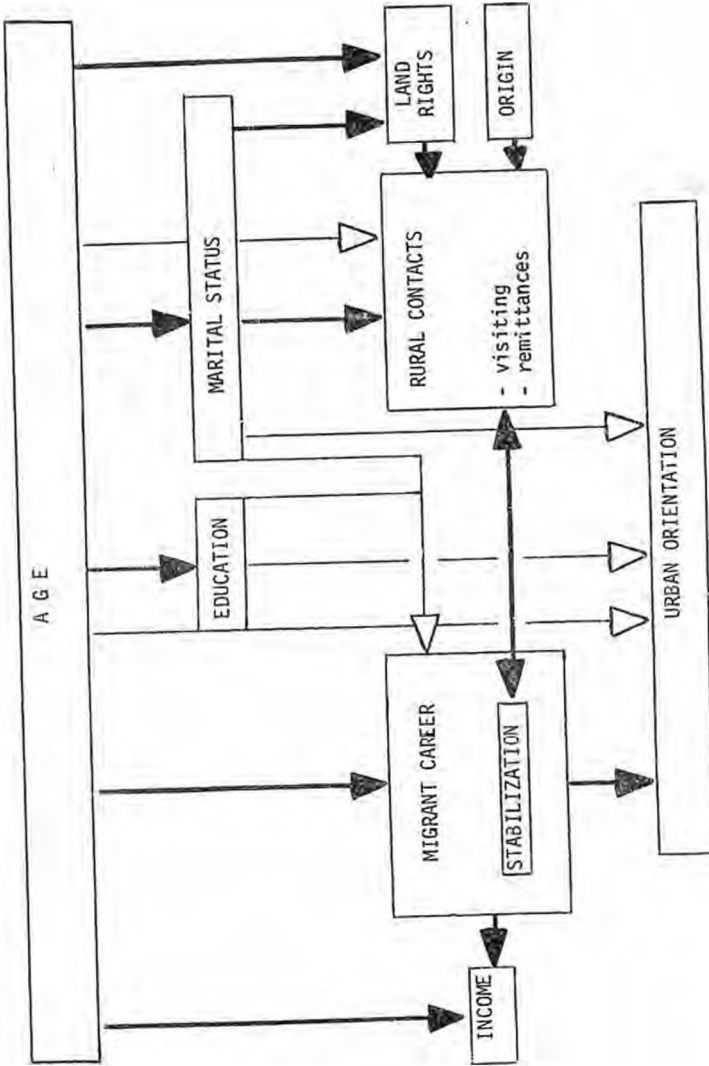


Figure 16 1973 Hostels Model

The more advanced the career, the greater the probability of change of employment. Loss of employment in turn is very likely to introduce a return to the rural home for a longer period of time. In conjunction with the age effect on migration variables, it may be concluded that the typical migrant career involves oscillation between the urban centre and the rural home and that younger age groups will follow the pattern of oscillation traced by older migrants as they progress through their migrant careers. Expressed differently, age very often indicates the stage reached in the migrant career.

Age also affects the *income* status of migrants. Hostel dwellers' incomes are slightly higher when a person is older, married and has worked for a longer period in town. A particularly interesting finding is that income does not vary systematically with educational status in the migrant group. This would imply that prolonged urban experience provides the opportunities for finding better paid jobs or for the acquisition of occupational skills determinant of mobility on the income status line. In some cases seniority may be associated with some type of wage increase.

Age is also consistently associated with *rural contacts*, though less indicative of visiting and remittance behaviour than domestic age. Marital status appears to be the chief determinant of visiting patterns: married men visit more regularly, spend more time in the rural areas, and have a higher travel expenditure than single men. Marital status also determines remittance frequency in its own right. A higher proportion of married than single men remit regularly (81% : 37%), and more single than married respondents do not remit cash at all (22% : 3%).

Coming of age in rural society is closely associated with marital status and progeny. Older, married respondents are most likely to have *land rights* in the rural areas than other hostel dwellers. (The association of land rights with education and income variables is most probably spurious and is not indicated in Figure 16).

It is proposed that age affects *rural-urban orientation* indirectly through urban experience factors. For instance family reliance is generally lower for older migrants who have presumably been exposed to the urban environment for longer periods in their lives.⁵⁾

Thus age has a theoretically consistent effect on all variable clusters in the 1973 Hostels Model. For the most part the effect is immediate, in some instances the effect is strengthened by marital status and urban experience factors.

In this connection the *stabilization* variable merits special attention, because it is the only age independent variable in the migration

5) The effect of foreign migrants in the older age group was unfortunately not checked.

cluster and one of the few in the model in general.⁶⁾

As might be expected, a higher proportion of married respondents score higher on the stabilization index. Stabilization is significantly associated with all migration variables: higher stabilization scores being characteristic of persons with longer urban experience, who took their first job in town longer ago, have had a higher number of jobs in the meantime, and have lived longer in hostels than other migrants. Urban experience and the stabilization index are so closely related that but for the higher sensitivity of the latter variable, they might be employed as alternative indicators.

Most importantly, the stabilization variable provides the key to explaining the otherwise anomalous relationship between rural-urban migration and the retention of rural ties. The model stresses the significance of the home-visiting mechanism and rural contact mechanism for the continuation of a migrant career. More stabilized migrants tend to be frequent rural visitors and to spend more money on travelling. The more stabilized persons are also more likely to have made longer rural visits in the course of their migrant careers for reasons of unemployment. It is obvious that if the rural home is to provide social security benefits for migrants, they in turn must maintain rural contacts for the duration of their working lives.

-
- 6) The stabilization index is by definition corrected for age, but the index tends to increase systematically for each age cohort (cf. Chapter 10, especially footnote 2). Irregularities in the progressive stabilization increase occur in the 1973 Hostels sample in the age cohorts over fifty years (Møller 1973:48ff.), indicating that some migrants have started their urban careers late in life. It is suggested that these persons may continue their careers longer than the average 45 years for labour migrants to make up for their late start. The cross-tabulation between age and stabilization is not included in Appendix B because the cell value distribution does not differ significantly from the expected one.

		age				
		low - 24 yrs	medium 25-34 yrs	high 35+ yrs		
stabilization	lower	58,0	70	61	35	166
	higher	58,0+	69	95	55	219
			139	156	90	385
no information 3, chi square = 4,65, CC = ,11, 2 d.f., p < .10						

The close relationship of ORIGIN to other variables in the rural contact cluster, provides further evidence that *the rural home-visiting mechanism is essential to the uninterrupted continuation of a migrant career in town.* Distance of the rural home from the urban centre does not prevent migrants from visiting during their annual leave, but it inhibits visiting over short holidays. Distance thus regulates the visiting pattern; visiting frequency is inversely related to distance. Moreover, persons living closer to town tend to spend more time in the rural areas each year without jeopardizing their urban career chances through their absence. It is further suggested that although travel expenditure among hostel dwellers varies within a limited range, the returns are very unevenly distributed. Migrants from districts close to the migration centre are at an advantage over other migrants and - according to the 1973 Hostels survey data - actually make optimal use of low travel fares by increasing visiting frequency. The regular visitor is in a unique position: he is able to optimize his status in both the urban and the rural context simultaneously. However, one must not forget that, more likely than not, the regular visitor is in dire need of any credit to his account. In comparison to other hostel dwellers, his slightly higher wages do not match the larger number of dependents he has to provide for.

Congruent with his lower income and single status, it is thought that the younger hostel dweller may try to economize on long distance bus and train fares and therefore visit the rural home less frequently.

To close the associational network, persons with rights to a plot in the rural areas remit more frequently and very likely such persons are married and live closer to the urban centre.

Located at the bottom of Figure 16 the *urban orientation* cluster is affected by stabilization more than by other factors. A greater proportion of more stabilized persons would rely less on kin in need situations and would choose town as the future residence for their sons. A higher percentage of more stabilized migrants agree that living in a house in the townships offers an advantage over hostel accommodation and they are more often adamant that men do not live in hostels simply because they prefer to keep their families at the rural home. Lastly, education and a more urban outlook tend to go hand in hand: persons having achieved higher standards of education exhibit less kin reliance.

By interpreting the 1973 Hostels Model from a more structural theoretical angle (cf. Heintz 1972; Hoffmann-Nowotny 1973), the mobility factors involved in migration can be illuminated. The empirical regularities depicted in Figure 16 establish the fact that social mobility increases systematically with age. In the urban context - via stabilization - a migrant achieves a regular cash income and a higher economic status. In the rural context a higher tenure position is automatically awarded to persons with higher domestic-age status. The home-visiting mechanism is instrumental to social mobility in both the urban and the rural context.

In the urban context the younger migrant's status constellation may be balanced with low positions being occupied on urban status lines such as occupation, income, education and tenure; moreover there is time for a leading status position to draw the lagging ones up in the course of an urban career. This does not apply for older hostel dwellers. Being accommodated in bachelor quarters despite married status and relatively high income status constitutes a disequilibrated status configuration. We have seen that increasing age and stabilization determine higher urban commitment, but obviously this level of urban commitment is insufficiently high to warrant residential mobility in the case of the older hostel generation.

Why is residential status lagging behind in the senior hostel dweller's status constellation? It is proposed that the economic return from urban labour has been insufficient to make residential mobility feasible for the older migrant living in hostels to date. In other words, low wages prevent a 'migrant' from becoming a 'townsman' and bringing his family to town to live in a township family accommodation unit. Instead this migrant seeks security in both the rural and urban context throughout his working life. Economic security is predominantly sought in town and security of tenure in the rural areas.

Support for this proposition is given in the following instances. Notwithstanding that older migrants are more frequently eligible for township accommodation by virtue of the registration of their marriage, tenure mobility is not affected. The tension involved in the lagging residential status is expressed in responses to attitude items in the survey.⁷⁾

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- 7) Further empirical regularities listed in Appendix B, but not shown in Figure 16 can be interpreted in a manner consonant with this argumentation. With increasing age hostel dwellers tend to have more kinsmen living in town and to receive more visitors. This may increase possibilities for relevant status comparison. Moreover the lagging residential status may become more visible due to inability to afford hospitality to visiting kin from the rural area. Positive attitudes toward family accommodation may therefore increase slightly.

The age factor may also be influential in the following regularities. Persons with close rural ties according to the PATTERN variable, receive more visits from rural kin. Fulfillment of kinship obligations is dissonant with hostel residential status and this might influence persons receiving more visitors than others to agree that living in a township house is advantageous and that they would feel more like sharing a township dweller's way of life than others. A higher proportion of persons receiving a greater number of visitors also approve of the notion of bringing their families to town to live in town like township dwellers, whereas respondents receiving fewer visitors tend to disagree. Age and marital status are possibly also determinant of the higher proportion of regular remitters believing that it is wrong for township dwellers to be given new homes before hostel dwellers.

Married hostel dwellers tend to evince attitudes which convey greater preoccupation with the security aspect of family accommodation. It is chiefly for security reasons that married migrants would consider sharing the townsman's way of life. Symptomatically it is the married migrants who object most strongly to the idea of men living in hostels simply because they prefer to keep their families in the rural areas. The transfer of economic security to maintain security of tenure in the rural areas is particularly evident with higher income status which is concomitant with married status: the value of cash remittances increases with income.

Summary: Based on a multivariate analysis applied to 1973 Hostels survey data, a selection of key variables relevant to the migration and urbanization process is made. The empirical regularities between the key variables are graphically represented in the 1973 Hostels Model and interpreted in terms of push-pull and structural migration theory. The model illustrates that in the case of migrants age factors are highly determinant of the individual migration and urbanization process. The model also stresses the importance of the home-visiting mechanism for the temporary stabilization of migrants during their working careers.

CHAPTER 16.MULTIVARIATE ANALYSIS: DETERMINANTS OF URBANIZATION,
1973/74 MUFAKOSE STUDY.

Building up on the experience gained when analysing factors affecting migration and stabilization among hostel migrants, a similar exercise was undertaken to study urbanization among townsmen employing the 1973/74 Mufakose Study data.

Method: A selection of 43 key variables for 269 data sets were entered into the analysis in the order of expected dependence. The description and categorization of the variables is given in Appendix C.

Variables included in the exercise with the abbreviations used for reference purposes are listed below. A first major distinction between cause and effect variables was made. Within the first group of causal determinants a further threefold division was made; determination expectedly advancing from the first to the third subgroup. Effect variables were grouped under four headings according to topic; determination was anticipated to stem from the causal determinants.

Causal determinants:

First order determinants: variables relating to status ascribed to individuals at Birth. - AGE, the distance of the district of ORIGIN and nationality (FOREIGN).

Second order determinants: variables relating to status in the traditional social system. - DURATION of an individual's MARRIAGE (MARRDUR), the SIZE of the respondent's urban HouseHold (HHSIZE), the FAMILY STRucture (FAMSTR) and the right to a plot of LAND in the rural area (LAND).

Third order determinants: variables relating to status in the modern social system. - Socio-economic status: EDUCational Status, INCOME status. Residential status: FORMer RESidence (FORRES), length of RESidence in MUFakose (MUFRES), residential AREA in Mufakose, the HOUSE type resided in, the incidence of RENTal subsidy.

Migration variables: variables relating to the migrant career or the urban sojourn of townsmen: the number of JOBS held by a townsman during his career in town, the incidence of interruptions or long HOme VISITS in the migrant career (HOVISIT), the Length of such Rural home Visits (LRV), the Reason for making a Long Rural Visit (RLRV), and a STABilization index, indicating the proportion of adult life spent in town (STAB).

Rural contact variables: The FREQUENCY (REMITFR) and the VALUE (REMITVAL) of REMITTANCES. TERMINUS visits which provide opportunities for receiving and sending messages, townsmen's home visiting PATTERNS, their WIVES' home visiting PATTERNS (WPATTERN), townsmen's ASPIRATIONS for home VISITING (VISITASP). Home visiting pattern parameters relating to townsmen's home visiting during one year: the FREQUENCY of visits, the TIME spent visiting, the DISTANCE covered on trips and the COST of rural visiting, the incidence of visiting over HOLIDAYS and at LEAVE time, a variable reflecting (or ANALYSING) the DESTINATIONAL diversity of home visiting behaviour (DESTAN).

Rural-urban orientation: degree of FAMILY RELIANCE (FAMREL), Rural-Urban PREFERENCE for permanent family residence (RUPREF), PREFERENCE for Cattle or Pension at retirement (CPPREF).

Urban attitudes: variables gauging an individual's attitude toward his urban residential surroundings and aspirations for change and improvement in these surroundings. - Ranking of urban priorities: Community services (educational, medical) (CPRIORITY), Tenure PRIORITY (TPRIORITY), Housing PRIORITY (HPRIORITY), accommodational and township Facilities PRIORITY (FPRIORITY). Knowledge of the existence of a residents' representation with ADVISORY capacity (ADVISB). Differentials in proposals for community improvement (CHANGE). ASPIRATIONS for individual inter-township MOBILITY (ASPMOB), and differential motivation (Reasons) for such ASPIRED MOBILITY (RASPMB).

The 43 variables above were cross-tabulated against each other, omissions being made in cases where cross-tabulation would be meaningless. A list of the cross-tabulations executed along with the cell values for extreme distributions is given in Appendix C.

Following the steps involved in the multivariate analysis we shall discuss cluster identification and cluster inter-relationships and then proceed to the determination of linkages between clusters figuring in the 1973/74 Mufakose Model.

Inter-relationship between determinants:

Effects of first order determinants: Older Mufakose townsmen who have been married for longer periods of time have larger urban households.¹⁾

1) According to 1973/74 Mufakose survey data urban family size and urban household size are usually identical. It will be remembered that accommodation of lodgers is illegal in Mufakose.

Higher proportions of older than younger households are accommodated more spaciously, for the most part in the lower density housing areas in the core of Mufakose township. Consistent with 1973 Hostels findings, educational standard and age are inversely related.

The nationality of townsmen is one of the strongest determinants in the set. The family structure of foreign households tends to adhere to the nuclear type (elementary or polygamous), whereas Rhodesian families are more often fragmented or enlarged. The higher incidence of nuclear families among aliens may reflect the isolation of the family unit in the host country. Greater contact possibilities between Rhodesian kinsmen residing in town and country may account for greater variance in the rural-urban spatial distribution of Rhodesian family groups.

This contention is supported by the fact that only 42 per cent of foreigners as against 80 per cent of Rhodesians can claim land rights in the tribal area. Foreigners occupy a generally lower urban status than Rhodesians: they tend to have lower educational and income statuses, live in less spacious houses, and a higher proportion of foreigners (66%) than Rhodesians (42%) receive subsidies on their rent.

Effect of second order determinants: The positive correlation between marriage duration and household size is expected. Likewise, long-term marriage and residence in Mufakose go hand in hand. Household size increases systematically with the fragmented, elementary and elementary enlarged family types. A higher proportion of tenants with larger families are oldtimers in Mufakose, who will most probably live in the more spacious core area accommodation, but household size and house size are not significantly related. In fact, the majority of the largest households (7 to 15 persons) are housed in medium-sized (three-roomed) houses.

Effect of third order determinants: As shown above educational standard is determined by age and nationality which in turn is significantly related to income and residential status. Higher education is indicative of residence in the core (versus newer) areas and larger houses, and vice versa. Higher educated tenants are less likely to receive subsidies on their rent than less educated tenants.

Income is largely educationally determined and therefore reflects nationality as well. Income appears to be a stronger determinant of residential status than education, possibly for historical reasons. Senior Mufakose residents accommodated in the core areas were expected to pass a means test in the early 1960s. This did not apply to later residents occupying the newer Mufakose areas who were frequently evacuees from a Salisbury area subject to an urban renewal scheme. Consequently, a higher percentage of the more affluent Mufakose residents are well established in Mufakose, and higher income groups are over-represented in the older Mufakose areas and the larger houses. Furthermore, respondents in the highest income category are more frequently recruited from township

housing, whereas the largest proportion of former hostel dwellers are to be found in the lowest income category. A higher proportion of foreigners, of the less educated, of those recruited from hostels, compounds or European residential areas in Salisbury than those recruited from township housing are likely to receive rental subsidies. This finding suggests that residential mobility cannot be achieved without financial assistance as long as wage and economic rent structures are largely incompatible in the study context (cf. Chapter 3).

Having adequately confirmed the close association between the income and the rental subsidy variable, the latter was dropped from the analysis at this point.

Residential status in terms of length of residence, area of residence and type of house are all associated with socio-economic status. Older residents are more likely to live in the core areas in the larger homes.

Determinants of migration behaviour: Fewer migration variables were included in the 1973/74 Mufakose than in the 1973 Hostels multivariate analysis. In contrast to the 1973 Hostels findings, migration factors do not appear to be strongly influenced by life-cycle factors. Marriage duration, but not age, is significantly related to the job variable, only in the Rhodesian subgroup does job mobility increase with age.

The inter-relationship within the migration cluster is partially consistent with the one established for the 1973 Hostels data. With one exception, job, home visits in case of unemployment and longest rural visit are consistently and significantly inter-related. However, the variables JOB and LRV are not significantly correlated to each other. This last finding is unexpected, because these were precisely the two variables, which were considered the strongest in the migration cluster in the 1973 Hostels analysis. Moreover, the stabilization variable, which appeared to be very strong in the same study, now emerges as particularly weak in the 1973/74 Mufakose analysis. Stabilization is significantly related only to the job variable and to none other in the entire set of 43 variables. - We shall return to this distinction between 1973 Hostels and 1973/74 Mufakose findings when comparing the respective models at the end of this chapter.

Determinants of rural contact behaviour: The 1973 Hostels findings are confirmed by the 1973/74 Mufakose findings in respect of rural contacts.

Remittance behaviour is affected by land rights and nationality in a cumulative manner. Foreigners and persons with no land rights are least likely to remit cash to the rural home. Eighty-eight per cent of Rhodesians send remittances home and 49 per cent do so on a regular basis. The distance of the urban centre to the rural home may make it more difficult for foreigners to remit; with Rhodesians distance appears to make no difference. Remittances are possibly intended for the cash needs of persons working the land at home (1975 Study findings support this contention). The fact that heads of fragmented urban families are

more often regular remitters (56%) than heads of elementary or elementary enlarged families (30%) lends credibility to this explanation (the correlation between REMITFR and FAMSTR is however not significant).

Similar to 1973 Hostels findings, the value of remittances sent at one time does not appear to fit into a specific pattern. A higher proportion of low earners and more frequent remitters tend to remit relatively small sums, but the respective correlations (REMITVAL : INCOME, PATTERN) are not significant.

Despite earlier renunciation on account of theoretical fruitlessness, the variable referring to the habit of terminus visiting is included in the 1973/74 Mufakose multivariate analysis. Its consistent and close relationship to remittance and visiting behaviour is again confirmed. Moreover, the habit of visiting the long-distance bus terminus does not appear to be associated with former residence in the Harare Hostels which are situated adjacent to the terminus.

As regards visiting behaviour the household head's visiting pattern again emerges as a particularly strong variable. Similar to remittance frequency it is extremely dependent on nationality. Table 16.1 gives the proportion of Mufakose visitor and remitter types by nationality.

Percentage nationality by visiting pattern and remittance frequency					
visiting pattern	foreigners	Rhodesians	remittance pattern	foreigners	Rhodesians
non-visitors	71,0	12,1	non-remitters	50,0	12,5
occasional visitors	24,7	51,7	occasional remitters	45,7	38,1
regular visitors	4,3	36,2	regular remitters	4,3	49,4
	100,0	100,0		100,0	100,0
	N = 93	N = 174		N = 92	N = 168

Visiting frequency is associated with land rights and inversely correlated to the distance of the rural home from the urban centre. Urban family structure is an important determinant of visiting patterns. Heads of families split between town and country visit more frequently than others.

The wife's visiting pattern is basically influenced by the same factors as the household head's visiting pattern. The relationship between FOREIGN and WPATTERN is however less pronounced, because some foreign respondents are married to Rhodesian wives who visit their rural homes (cf. Table 16.2). In some instances foreign men married to Rhodesian wives visit their wives' homes as well.

Table 16.2. 1973/74 Mufakose Study

Percentage nationality by wife's visiting pattern

wives are	wives with foreign husbands	wives with Rhodesian husbands
non-visitors	55,9	16,0
'urban' visitors	30,1	14,5
'rural' visitors	14,0	69,8
	100,0 N = 93	100,3 N = 172

Notes: 'Urban' visiting refers to short frequent visits to the rural area compatible with continued urban residence. It is characteristic of the urban employed who engage in visiting, hence the designation 'urban'.
'Rural' visiting refers to seasonal visiting characteristic of persons attending to fields in the rural area. Long absences from town lasting several months are incompatible with continued urban residence. - Wives assumed to be residing in the rural areas are included in the 'rural' visiting category.

Wives' visiting patterns in fragmented families are by definition 'rural', there is no significant difference between wives' visiting patterns in the other family types. A higher proportion of women follow the 'rural' visiting pattern when their husbands claim land rights in the rural areas.

Satisfaction with rural home visiting frequency is solely determined by actual visiting behaviour: satisfaction increases systematically with visiting frequency.

In the majority of cases rural visitors go to their own homes in the rural areas. The destinational pattern of each respondent was traced by checking if visits were consistently made to the rural home, which would expectedly coincide with the district of origin. A higher proportion of foreigners, persons without land rights and persons with higher education visit places other than their homes. It is assumed that persons with land rights are more restricted in their movements than others. This is supported by the significant relationship between WPATTERN and DESTAN, indicating that relatively few men with wives residing in the rural areas for many months in the year, visit places other than their home districts. Many foreigners married to Rhodesians will visit their wives' homes. The over-representation of foreigners in the landless and low educational categories may influence the relationship between DESTAN on the one side, and LAND and EDUCST on the other. However, the higher proportion of higher educated with diverse destinational patterns is striking and it is suggested that educated townsmen may purposefully diversify their travel habits and possibly engage in tourist excursions as well as traditional home visiting.

As shown above, the rural contact variables are affected by nationality and land (the effect of education and housing is probably accounted for by nationality and is regarded as spurious). Inter-relationship within the cluster is equally strong and consistent. The variables household head's visiting pattern, wife's visiting pattern, remittance frequency and terminus visiting are all positively correlated. The correspondence between husband and wife visiting patterns is shown in Table 16.3.²⁾

Table 16.3. 1973/74 Mufakose Study			
Percentage correspondence between husband and wife visiting patterns			
PATTERN BY WPATTERN			
WPATTERN: wife is	PATTERN: husband is non-visitor occasional v. regular v.		
non-visitor	21,7%	6,0%	1,9%
'urban' visitor	6,4%	12,0%	1,5%
'rural' visitor or rural resident	4,9%	24,3%	21,3%
100% = 267			
cf. Table 16.2 for category description.			

Furthermore the variable household head's visiting pattern on one hand and all other visiting parameters on the other hand are closely associated. PATTERN is highly positively correlated with frequency of visits, time spent in the rural area, distance travelled, cost of visiting during a one year period, holiday and leave visiting. Parameter inter-relationship meets expectations. Consistent with previous findings holiday visiting is more indicative of visiting frequency, leave visiting more indicative of visiting time. It is therefore concluded that the PATTERN variable gives an adequate assessment of visiting behaviour in migrant as well as towns-men groups and can be employed as the sole indicator if necessary.

Determinants of rural-urban orientation: The family reliance variable proved to be the weakest variable in the cluster. The close but not significant association between FAMREL and VISITASP suggests that persons who feel cut off from their rural kin through too little contact may shed their reliance on kinsmen.

A higher urban commitment in terms of residence preference is exhibited by foreigners and persons without land rights.

- 2) Some indication of the positive relationship between townsmen's visiting patterns and those of their wives in respect of time and frequency is given in Chapter 11: Tables 11.4 and 11.5.

Education and income also tend to be positively related to urban commitment, supporting the notion that persons with higher incomes in town have a higher stake in the urban context and therefore express higher commitment (cf. Chapter 5; Mitchell, Shaul 1965:630; Schlemmer 1972; Mitchell 1973). Just over fifty per cent of residents occupying the highest income and education status positions in our survey indicate urban residence preference. The relationships tend to be curvilinear due to over-representation of foreigners expressing urban commitment in the lower income and education categories, and correlations are not significant. Similarly preference for a pension as against cattle upon retirement is significantly higher among foreigners, persons without land and the higher educated. The variables cattle-pension preference and rural-urban preference are consistently inter-related. Linkage of both variables to rural contact behaviour is also observed as shown in Table 16.4.

Table 16.4. 1973/74 Mufakose Study

Urban commitment by rural contacts: CPPREF, RUPREF, by REMITFR, PATTERN, WPATTERN.

rural contact:		CPPREF: old age security: pension preference					RUPREF: permanent resi- dence: urban preference				
		%	%	%	N	x ²	%	%	%	N	x ²
remittance frequency	high	35,1			77		20,3			79	
	medium		42,2		102	2 d.f.		37,6		93	2 d.f.
	low			69,2	65	18,3			51,6	64	15,4
townsman's visiting pattern	regular	25,8			62		16,1			62	
	occasional		42,7		103	2 d.f.		31,6		98	2 d.f.
	non-visitor			67,4	86	26,4			56,6	83	26,7
wife's visiting pattern	'rural'	32,2			121		19,0			116	
	'urban'		58,0		50	2 d.f.		47,9		48	2 d.f.
	non-visitor			64,1	78	22,1			55,8	77	30,5

Determinants of urban attitudes: Four attitude items connected to urban life at the grass roots level of the residential community were included in the multivariate analysis.

urban priorities: Household size appears to be the strongest determinant of urban priorities as shown in Table 16.5. The relationship between tenure priority and family structure is not quite significant but supports this trend. The causal link between small households and priority given to community services (educational, medical) is not immediately recognisable and may merely be a result of the priority assessment.³⁾

- 3) The significant negative inter-relationship between priority items reflects the ranking exercise conducted in the survey. Community services (medical, educational) and facilities (home, bus, road improvements) have least affinity to one another; housing provision and tenure items greatest affinity.

Table 16.5. 1973/74 Mufakose Study

Ranking of urban priorities by household size and family structure

high rank given to	household size			family structure		
	small	medium	large	fragmented	elementary	enlarged
community services N =	79,5 78	58,1 74	56,6 99			
tenure N =	39,7 78	61,6 73	71,7 99	40,6 32	58,9 192	77,8 27
facilities N =	42,3 78	29,7 74	19,2 99			

However, one might argue that in small families, educational and medical attention given to individual members is more highly valued.

For survey purposes the high priority given to tenure by heads of large households is extremely interesting. It is assumed that in their case home ownership is preferred to rented accommodation (cf. Chapter 9: Tables 9.18, 9.19). Considering that a townsman can accommodate as many members of the immediate and extended family as desired in a house of his own, the priority given to tenure is understandable. It is also worth noting that higher proportions of persons in the highest educational category and those living in the largest houses place tenure in a high rank. EDUCATION and HOUSE are however not significantly related to TPRIORITY. On the other hand, heads of small households are most preoccupied with immediate home improvements (the majority vote under the facilities heading, cf. Table 16.5).

Knowledge of the Mufakose Advisory Board: The Board is officially representative of Mufakose residents and acts by and large as a subcommittee of the Salisbury City Council, albeit in an advisory capacity. The question pertaining to this item was posed in such a manner that a response was elicited from all persons with knowledge of the existence of such a Board regardless of their attitude toward it. Knowledge of community affairs at the local level is considered the typically 'urban' response indicative of a higher involvement in the urban residential community.

Although only a very low proportion of respondents (28%) appear to have knowledge of the Board's existence, the variable nevertheless has discriminatory power. The highest positive correlation is observed between ADVISB and education. A series of significant relationships between ADVISB and other variables are consistent with this finding. Respondents of Rhodesian nationality, those in the higher income groups, those who are long standing members of the Mufakose community, those resident in larger houses, and/or in the core areas

of Mufakose, are all more likely to have some knowledge of the Advisory Board's existence than other townsmen (cf. Table 16.6).

Knowledge of Advisory Board					
variable	% difference between extreme categories	category	% with knowledge of Advisory Board	N	chi sq.
educational standard	73,0	high education	82,8	29	111 2 d.f. 122 64,9
		medium education	34,2	111	
		low education	9,8	122	
house type (size)	48,2	large house	50,0	58	152 2 d.f. 56 33,1
		medium house	29,6	152	
		small house	1,8	56	
income	43,9	high income	56,7	67	99 2 d.f. 78 39,4
		medium income	20,2	99	
		low income	12,8	78	
nationality	33,0	Rhodesians	39,5	172	1 d.f. 92 32,4
		foreigners	6,5	92	
residence duration	24,0	oldtimers	45,0	80	1 d.f. 186 16,0
		newcomers	21,0	186	
area of residence	20,6	core areas	44,9	98	1 d.f. 168 21,4
		new areas	24,3	168	

These results are not surprising, although such a clear-cut picture was not expected. It is universally accepted, that interest in and knowledge of community affairs is higher among the more educated. Long-term residence and education may have a cumulative effect on this knowledge. Foreign residents are by and large newcomers to Mufakose and generally have a lower socio-economic status. Higher socio-economic status groups are more concentrated in the core areas where all large houses in the township are located. Interesting is that ADVISB is also related to rural contact behaviour. Persons with knowledge of the Advisory Board are over-represented in the categories of occasional and regular visitors, holiday and leave visitors. These relationships are of course largely accounted for by the strong ADVISB : EDUCST, FOREIGN correlations, but nevertheless prove the point made above, that under quasi-stabilization conditions, urban involvement and rural contacts need not mutually exclude each other (cf. Mitchell 1973:289, 306; Schlemmer 1972).

Suggestions for change in Mufakose: When asked what they would change first in Mufakose if given the opportunity, approximately 85 per cent of respondents offered some suggestions for township improvement. According to field reports some persons (notably a high proportion of foreigners) felt that suggestions for change implied criticism of township administration which might endanger their residential status. Respondents to the CHANGE item therefore represent a selection of the more sophisticated townsmen.

Only a section of the total responses are represented in the nominally distributed change categories, which calls for careful scrutiny of cell value distributions. Table 16.7 affords an overview over extreme distributions involving the CHANGE variable. Consistent with findings concerning urban priorities, it will be observed that concern with housing and accommodation issues is most predominant among persons living in small houses, in the newer Mufakose areas. Foreigners are therefore especially affected by housing issues. Concern with accommodation includes the wish for electricity to be installed in the so-called 'unlit' newer Mufakose areas.

Where the immediate accommodation requirements have been met (predominantly in large houses, in the core areas) concern with rent issues increases.⁴⁾ The preoccupation with tenure is even more exclusively the domain of persons whose immediate accommodation needs have been satisfied. A higher proportion of persons residing in medium and large size houses in the core area opt for tenure change in Mufakose. Persons with medium or large size households are also more interested in the question of tenure. These respondents may reason that they can overcome the spatial limitations imposed by rented township accommodation in the more flexible housing arrangements offered in home-ownership schemes.

4) It is suggested that the rent issue is relevant to several groups but for different reasons. Whereas persons of more modest means will feel that rents are too high in comparison to their incomes, persons in the higher income brackets may have two reasons for complaint. Firstly, their rents are not subsidized and they feel they are being penalized for their efforts in attaining their relatively higher status positions. Secondly, the standard of accommodation offered in return for the rental payments is considered inadequate, but as no alternative choice of accommodation is available in Mufakose, residents are forced to accept this situation. The relative deprivation of those living in larger houses in the core areas is acutely felt and may explain their preoccupation with rent issues. - It is not altogether clear why persons with small urban households are more concerned with rent issues than others. It is probable that heads of fragmented families indicative of lower urban commitment, may be more heavily represented in this group and that the economic rent issue is more pertinent to the less urban committed than the issue concerning amenities in the home.

Table 16.7. 1973/74 Mufakose Study									
Percentage differentials in proposals for change in Mufakose									
concern with issues:	house type			area		household size			
	small	medium	large	new	core	small	medium	large	
rent	35,5	40,2	52,5	34,5	55,6	52,2	36,5	39,7	
housing accommodation	64,5	32,4	17,5	47,3	12,7	41,3	42,3	24,7	
electricity									
tenure	0,0	27,5	30,0	18,2	31,7	6,5	21,2	35,6	
	100,0	100,1	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	
N =	31	102	40	110	64	46	52	73	
chi square =	21,8			21,2		15,5			
concern with issues:	nationality			pattern					
	foreign	Rhodesian	non-visitor	occasional	v. regular	v. regular	v. regular	v. regular	v. regular
rent	38,9	43,2	46,2	40,5	40,5				
housing accommodation	50,0	28,0	48,1	24,1	38,1				
electricity									
tenure	11,1	28,8	5,8	35,4	21,4				
	100,0	100,0	100,1	100,0	100,0				
N =	54	118	52	79	42				
chi square =	10,3			17,9					
concern with issues:				leave		visit			
				yes	no				
rent				48,4	35,0				
housing accommodation				37,6	31,3				
electricity									
tenure				14,0	33,8				
				100,0	100,1				
N =				93	80				
chi square =				9,6					

This supposition may be prevalent among heads of large households who are at present residing in the largest house type in Mufakose. Even if financial means were available, such a person would not obtain permission to expand his rented home; his only option is to move out of Mufakose.

Furthermore, a relationship between visiting patterns and change proposals is observed. Occasional and leave visitors are most

interested in the question of tenure. Notwithstanding the possibility of over-interpretation, it is suggested that the occasional visitor may represent the townsman of reasonable means with a sufficiently high urban commitment to consider long-term investment in an urban home. By contrast, non-visitors are for the most part persons with low incomes who are predominantly accommodated in the less privileged areas of Mufakose and may therefore be more concerned with the immediate problems of economic rent, housing shortage, electricity etc. Regular visitors may not be sufficiently urban committed to engage in long-term urban investment speculations.

Aspirations for inter-township mobility: Respondents were asked to which Salisbury township they would prefer to move, if given the opportunity to reside there with their families. Similar to response patterns recorded for the CHANGE variable, a selection of the more empathetic, sophisticated townsmen is found among the respondents to the ASPMOB variable. Fieldworkers discovered reluctance on the part of many foreigners to give responses to this question which might be equated with criticism of their host country. The effect of education and nationality may merely be cumulative, but it is thought that higher education may equip persons to give more empathetic responses. The proportion able to name a township for a hypothetical move increases systematically with educational standard. Family structure may be connected with a more realistic appraisal of residential options. A higher percentage of elementary enlarged families name a township to which they would like to move.

In order to lend more substance to aspired residential mobility, three select categories of reasons given for aspired mobility were entered into the analysis: centrality, accommodation and tenure. The numbers in the distribution cells are very small, so only tentative conclusions can be drawn. Findings are supportive of those above; respondents living in larger houses show a higher preoccupation with tenure than others. Though consistently but not significantly related a series of further variables corroborate this trend. The vast majority of persons stating tenure as the reason for a hypothetical move to another township belong to the highest income group, the long-term resident group, and the core area residential category. Occasional visitors and irregular remitters are also over-represented in the group stating tenure as a reason for mobility. The variables CHANGE and RASPMOB are significantly correlated indicating the reliability of the survey data in terms of individually consistent response patterns.

The 1973/74 Mufakose Model: Having reviewed the variable clusters included in the multivariate analysis, an attempt is made to construct a model, which incorporates the most important empirical regularities discussed above and at the same time represents a set of propositions, consistent in itself and with migration and urbanization theory. The key variables entered into the model and their determination pattern is set forth in Table 16.8. The 1973/74 Mufakose Model is shown in Figure 17.

Table 16.8. 1973/74 Mufakose Study

Correlations between key variables ($p < .01$)

correlations given in CC values. Values in brackets refer to Rhodesian subgroup.

cluster and
variable correlations with variables in other clusters

MARRDUR	AGE	,52	(,58)				
FAMSTR	FOREIGN	,24					
HHSIZE	FAMSTR	,39	(,48)	MARRDUR	,34	(,34)	AGE ,27 (,30)
LAND	FOREIGN	,36					
EDUCST	FOREIGN	,36		AGE	,30	(,40)	MARRDUR,32 (,39)
INCOME	EDUCST	,44	(,43)	FORRES	,29	(,29)	FOREIGN,19
MUFRES	MARRDUR	,24		INCOME	,23	(,20)*	HHSIZE ,21 (,19)*
AREA	MUFRES	,56	(,55)	INCOME	,33	(,34)	EDUCST ,25 (,25)
HOUSE	AREA	,47	(,49)	MUFRES	,38	(,34)	EDUCST ,32 (,28)
	INCOME	,30	(,26)*	AGE	,23	(,19)*	FOREIGN,23
JOB	STAB	,27	(,26)	MARRDUR	,26	(,32)	FOREIGN,21
	cluster inter-correlations: JOB:HOVISIT = ,46 (,48), HOVISIT:LRV = ,42 (,41), HOVISIT:RLRV = ,49 (,47), JOB:RLRV = ,25 (,21)*						
REMITFR	FOREIGN	,46		LAND	,43	(,34)	EDUCST ,27
PATTERN	FOREIGN	,52		LAND	,39	(,40)	FAMSTR ,29
	ORIGIN	,29	(,29)	EDUCST	,23		HOUSE ,22
WPATTERN	FOREIGN	,48		LAND	,40	(,40)	FAMSTR ,32
	EDUCST	,24	(,32)	AGE	,22	(,27)	INCOME ,16* (,32)
	cluster inter-correlations: PATTERN:REMITFR = ,54 (,51), REMITFR:HOLIDAY = ,41, PATTERN:WPATTERN = ,53 (,50), REMITFR:LEAVE = ,39, REMITFR:WPATTERN = ,48 (,38), WPATTERN:HOLIDAY = ,42, WPATTERN:LEAVE = ,32, HOLIDAY:LEAVE = ,39.						
RUPREF	LAND	,35	(,23)	FOREIGN	,34		WPATTERN,34 (,25)
	PATTERN	,31	(,25)	REMITFR	,25	(,08)*	
CPPREF	LAND	,33	(,27)	FOREIGN	,32		PATTERN ,31 (,15)*
	WPATTERN,	29	(,18)*	REMITFR	,26	(,13)*	EDUCST ,25 (,38)
	cluster inter-correlations: RUPREF:CPPREF = ,34 (,28)						
ADVISB	EDUCST	,45	(,43)	INCOME	,37	(,36)	HOUSE ,33 (,33) FOREIGN,33
	AREA	,27	(,24)	MUFRES	,24	(,20)	PATTERN ,24 (,12)*
CHANGE	HOUSE	,33	(,23)*	AREA	,33	(,27)	PATTERN ,31 (,25)*
	HHSIZE	,29	(,33)	FOREIGN	,24		
	cluster inter-correlations: CHANGE:RASPMOB = ,50 (,47).						

* not significant at the .01 level

One of the most distinct features of the 1973/74 Mufakose Model in its original version (Møller 1974d) is the pervasiveness of the nationality factor. The effect of nationality reaches virtually every variable cluster depicted in Figure 17. Nationality exerts a substratification effect on the upper level II clusters: foreigners tend to occupy the lowest socio-economic status positions and concomitantly the lowest residential status positions in Mufakose. This status constellation adheres to the overall expected pattern. Moving to level III, foreigners tend to exhibit high urban commitment, have few rural contacts and are predominantly landless, a pattern which again conforms with the proposed cluster inter-relationship. However, the combination between pattern constellations at level II and level III is contrary to our working hypothesis: low residential and socio-economic status are supposedly conducive to low urban commitment and high rural contact. It will be noted that the foreign variable as such does not figure in the 1973/74 Mufakose Model on Figure 17. The case of the foreign migrant has purposefully been excluded from consideration in this study, because it introduces additional marginal conditions which tend to stifle the commonly observed interplay of variables. Suffice it to say that foreign in-migrants in the study context exhibit high urban commitment and low rural contact for historical reasons. One might even go further and propose that the high urban commitment occurs regardless of tenure and socio-economic position. Admittedly in the case of Salisbury and Mufakose foreign in-migrants, urban commitment is a valid expression of stabilization, but not necessarily an indicator of the adoption of an urban life style ('urbanism') which according to the theory outlined above calls for higher tenure and socio-economic mobility. Urban mobility is denied the foreign in-migrant for nationality reasons. It might be contended that the foreign in-migrant can only continue his sojourn abroad as long as he is content to remain a member of the substratum in the host country. Mobility might jeopardize his migrant career and lead to exclusion from the host country due to pressure from indigenous labour resenting competition, and/or from employers seeking only cheap labour.⁵⁾ By extracting the nationality factor from the 1973/74 Mufakose Model, a clearer picture of the mechanisms affecting urbanization among Rhodesian in-migrants is gained.

Only a very limited control could be undertaken to check if the original empirical regularities regardless of nationality hold. Excluding the foreign subgroup from a selection of cross-tabulations, it was found that the general trends were still valid. Correlations computed for nationality controlled distributions are entered into the original table shown in Table 16.8.

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- 5) This regularity may however be subject to arbitrary policy changes occurring from one day to the next. For instance aliens are portrayed as a burden to the local taxpayer by the authors of the African Affairs Section of the Salisbury Urban Plan (Corporate Development Group, City of Salisbury 1974) by virtue of their substratum membership, which entitles them to receive subsidies to a greater extent than indigenous Africans.

Moreover, the effects of certain relationships assumed to be spurious could be confirmed. This is predominantly the case for relationships between education and the rural contact behaviour of townsmen. The only major discrepancy between the foreign and Rhodesian subgroups is that rural contact behaviour and items included in the urban commitment cluster are less closely related for the latter subgroup. For instance the variable PATTERN (also WPATTERN, REMITFR) is not significantly related to CPPREF, ADVISB and CHANGE. However, the urban commitment variable most indicative of continued urban presence: rural-urban residence preference (RUPREF) is still highly associated to PATTERN and WPATTERN for the Rhodesian subgroup. The variables CPPREF and FAMSTR, which are both strongly dependent on the variable FOREIGN lose some of their sensitivity. The control exercise resulted in an additional valuable discovery. When nationality is controlled, the effect of education on the wife's visiting behaviour is more pronounced, and a new significant association with income emerges. Wives of Rhodesian respondents in the lower socio-economic categories tend to spend more time in the rural areas than those in the highest socio-economic category. This finding strengthens the consistency of the model: increasing socio-economic status reduces rural dependence expressed in terms of keeping the wife in the country, and at the same time boosts urban commitment factors.

Returning to the model depicted on Figure 17 we shall interpret the inter-relationship between clusters of variables for the Rhodesian Mufakose case, starting at the top level I and working down to the lower levels II and III. It will be remembered that tenure status (rented family accommodation) and marital status (married) are given factors and are therefore not included in Figure 17.

A major distinction of the 1973/74 Mufakose townsman model in comparison to the 1973 Hostels migrant model is the limited age determination. The age effect is reduced to life-cycle and educational influence. The former effect is virtually universal and will be encountered in any model including life-cycle aspects. On the urbanization side of the model, age - via domestic-age - affects residential status. Age also affects education, which - via income - compounds the initial effect of age on residential status. Influence exerted on education is largely contextually conditioned and we conclude that the influence of age on the urbanization process is minimal and indirect in the case of townsmen.

On the migration side of the model, age has a slight effect on domestic factors which in turn affect the migrant career. It will be remembered that in the 1973 Hostels Study it was also observed that marital status factors rather than age alone frequently correlated more closely with migration variables. One might draw the conclusion, that the effective influence of age is virtually lost in the townsman model.

Migration factors also figure as an extremely weak cluster in the model. The migration side of the relationship network stops dead at the migration cluster. This fact in itself represents an extremely

important finding. The dwindling importance of life-cycle and stabilization factors depicted in the 1973/74 Mufakose Model implies that *the migrant labour paradigm is no longer predictive of the migration behaviour of townsmen*. By the same token the dynamic aspect incorporated in age determination has vanished from the 1973/74 Mufakose townsman model in terms of migration. Expressed differently, one might say that stabilization factors are given for the townsman and represent constants which might even be excluded from the model similar to other given factors.⁶⁾

A further implication of *constant stabilization* is that dynamic aspects of the model are shifted from the migration to the urbanization side of the model. 'Ascribed' predictive factors inherent in life-cycle determinants lose their relevance which are now assumed by 'achieved' factors such as socio-economic and tenure status. On the level of the individual, this indicates a shift in reference from the traditional value system based on ascription to a more urban one based on achievement.

Moving to the urbanization side of the model, we might assume that with temporary stabilization given, urban commitment used in a loose sense (to include urban orientation and urban attitudes) is largely dictated by residential and socio-economic status. Residential status promotes an urban orientation in terms of community awareness and tenure mobility aspirations. The same applies for socio-economic status.

The significance of home-visiting mechanisms for stabilization is somewhat less pronounced in the townsman than in the migrant model. The firmer tenure position of townsmen in comparison to that of migrants reduces the townsmen's dependence on the rural social and economic system while pursuing their urban careers. The relevance of home visiting after loss of employment is somewhat diminished and it will be noted that the linkage between the migration cluster and the rural contact cluster is not indicated in Figure 17. Rural contacts in the form of visiting and remittances are however still vital for continued urban presence under quasi-stabilization conditions. It is however suggested that whereas regular rural home visiting is more characteristic of migrants, occasional rural home visiting is more typical of townsmen. As in the migrant model the distance of the rural home from the urban centre plays an important role in shaping the actual pattern of rural contacts. If limited rural contacts are requisite for continued urban presence under the prevailing quasi-stabilization conditions, extremely intense rural contacts tend to prevent extremely high urban commitment. This complex

6) Consider that the cutting point for categorization of the stabilization index is located just below the sample median at 75 which is far above the 66 mark usually accepted as an indication of stabilization.

relationship between rural contact behaviour and urban commitment is shown as an inter-dependent relationship indicated by a double-ended arrow on Figure 17.

The variable 'family structure' has been detached from a specific variable cluster for several reasons. 'Urban' family structure indicates urban commitment in the sense that if a man brings his wife and children to town he is likely to become more involved in the urban system than if he keeps them at the rural home. In this usage family structure is a classical 'urbanization' variable such as employed by Hellman (1956), Glass (1964), Mitchell and Shaul (1965), and Mitchell (1973) among others. However, WPATTERN by definition overlaps with the family structure variable in the present study and it would be incorrect to introduce circularity into the model without pinpointing it as such. The position of the family structure variable halfway between the urban commitment and rural contact clusters - reflecting the option of locating the family in the urban and/or the rural context - appears a fitting solution to this identification dilemma.

The land factor has also been isolated from other clusters because of its strong influence on rural contact behaviour as well as on several urban commitment indicators such as residence and old age security preference.

When referring to mobility aspects involved in the urbanization process, a consistent pattern can be outlined. Firstly, the empirical relationships depicted in the 1973/74 Mufakose Model support our most general working hypothesis (cf. Chapter 5). Higher residential status and socio-economic status are characteristic of townsmen exhibiting a higher urban commitment. At the same time a higher urban status tends to reduce rural dependence as reflected in rural contact behaviour and claims to tribal land.

Following the dynamic aspects relating to the predictive power of the model, we might make a distinction between two extreme types of Mufakose townsmen.

The *first* type is represented by the newcomer to Mufakose who lives in the austerity housing areas and has a fairly balanced status constellation. If at all, his economic status lags behind his residential status. A balancing effect is sometimes achieved by leaving the wife and some or all of the children behind in the rural areas (WPATTERN) to attend to tribal land during the agricultural season. In extreme cases we encounter family separation with the wife residing permanently in the rural area (FAMSTR). In either case the townsman's rural contact behaviour is intensified (PATTERN, REMITFR) and the likelihood that regular visiting on the part of the husband is engaged in, increases. We have come across the phenomenon of men leading bachelor lives in family accommodation. One might speak of a reversion from townsman to migrant in the case of the township dweller who cannot afford to live like a townsman. This is a type of 'internal' residential mobility which does not involve spatial downward mobility such as moving from township to

single accommodation. As far as security of tenure is concerned, bachelor townsmen are living above their incomes. However, as soon as finances permit, these townsmen can bring their families to town without delay, a great advantage in view of township accommodation shortage. It is proposed that the urban commitment of the first Mufakose type is de-emphasized in keeping with the lower socio-economic status and higher rural dependence in his status constellation which results in a fairly low urban commitment.

On the other end of the scale we have the *second* Mufakose type: he is a long-term resident in Mufakose who passed the means test in the 1960s and occupies a large house, in the more privileged core area of Mufakose. His higher socio-economic status has permitted him to relax rural contacts to occasional visiting. He has brought his family to town, and even members over and above the immediate family may share his urban home. Due to seniority his family may be fairly large and the accommodation of kinsmen, in addition to members of his immediate family, swell the numbers living under his roof to such an extent that his household figures among the largest ones in Mufakose. Socio-economic status influences his community involvement and urban commitment. All these factors together account for this townsman feeling under-privileged as far as tenure is concerned. He has attained the upper ceiling on the residential status line in Mufakose and seeks tenure improvement more in keeping with his relatively high socio-economic status, large household, urban commitment and urban outlook. This second type of resident is very likely to suggest that Mufakose be converted into a home-ownership township. Short of this, if access to higher tenure housing were afforded, this townsman would attempt to equilibrate his status constellation by moving to another township.

Summary: A multivariate analysis is applied to 1973/74 Mufakose data pertaining to migration and urbanization. Employing select clusters of variables arranged according to empirical inter-dependence structure, the 1973/74 Mufakose Model is constructed. After removing anomalous patterns relating to foreign in-migrants, the model is interpreted for the Rhodesian case in terms of structural theory. It is observed that due to depressed age determination and high stabilization in the townsman model, push-pull theory approaches to migration and urbanization processes tend to lose their predictive strength. The general working hypothesis that increased tenure status and socio-economic status affect higher urbanization and decreased rural dependence is supported in two instances: Firstly by comparing the empirical regularities incorporated in the 1973 Hostels Model with those incorporated in the 1973/74 Mufakose Model, and secondly by comparing status constellations of differential Mufakose residential positions in terms of the 1973/74 Mufakose Model.

CHAPTER 17.

MULTIVARIATE ANALYSIS: DETERMINANTS OF URBANIZATION,
1975 HOSTELS STUDY.

The comparative data collected in the 1975 surveys were also subjected to a multivariate analysis, the focus being directed onto the urban commitment and urban involvement aspects of urbanization. The scope of the analyses applied to the 1975 migrant and townsmen data differs considerably, so that it is convenient to discuss them separately. We shall commence with the more limited 1975 Hostels multivariate analysis.

Method: A selection of 46 variables¹⁾ for 150 data sets were entered into the analysis, by and large ordered according to expected dependence structure. The description and categorization of the variables is given in Appendix D. Because the 1975 Study refers to more homogeneous urban population groups in respect of nationality, and the study builds up on considerable research experience, categorization could be simplified. With the exception of education variables, all variables are dichotomized, responses to dependent variables being classified either as 'urban' or 'non-urban' (i.e. traditional, rural-oriented etc.) ones. Variables included in the exercise with the abbreviations used for reference purposes are listed below. A provisional cluster division is made to provide a better overview.

Personal and background variables: Population PRESSURE in Tribal Trust Land (TTL) of origin, AGE, EDUCational Status (EDUCST), INCOME status, MAR(R)ital Status (MARRST), MARRIage TYPE (MARRTYPE), DURATION of MARRIage (MARRDUR) and number of CHILDREN resulting from all marriages.

Migration and migrant career variables: URBan EXPERIence as an adult (URBEXP), STABILization index, type of rural-urban migration (STEPMIGration or direct migration), incidence of a MIGration TRADITION in the family (MIGTRAD), indications of SOCIAL MOBility in the migrant career (SOCMOB), number of jobs held in town since arrival (JOBSHIFT), JOB STABILity (JOBSTAB), interruptions in the urban career (HOVISIT).

Urban commitment variables: Intentions of staying in town (URBCOMMIT), Rural-Urban residence PREFerence (RUPREF), ASPirations for residential MOBility (ASPMOB).

Rural contact variables: Rural visiting PATTERN, Wife's urban visiting PATTERN (WPATTERN), REMITtance FREquency (REMITFR), PerCENTage of income REMITted (REMITPC).

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- 1) The first variable relating to residence in one of the five hostel complexes has been excluded from the discussion here, because it is only considered relevant to the specific study context. The effect of residential differences on migration and urbanization factors is believed to be negligible (cf. Chapter 9, footnote 4).

Rural investment variables: Rights to work a plot of LAND in the tribal areas, payment of TAXes in the rural areas, possession of CATTLE, possession of a RURAL HOME (RURHOME), fulfillment of a role in TRIBal society (TRIBE).

Urban involvement variables: URBan KINship ties (URBKIN), urban DRINKing COMPanionship (DRINKCOMP), CLUB membership, CHURCH membership, BURIAL Society membership, THRIFT Society membership, TRADE Union membership, PENSION scheme membership, weekday LEISure activity (LEIS1), weekend LEISure activity (LEIS2), leisure COMPANIONship in town, ROOMMATE companionship in hostels, CONSUMption pattern.

Residential status variables: duration of HOSTel RESidence (HOSRES), FORMer RESidence (FORRES).

Urban orientation variables: Cattle/Pension PREFERence at retirement (CPPREF), IDENTification with city, modern-traditional life GOAL.

Employing the same method outlined in the preceding chapters the results of the 1975 Hostels cluster analysis are briefly discussed below. Only those findings differing from or adding to ones made in the 1973 Hostels analysis will be commented upon in greater detail.

Determinant inter-relationship: generally replicates 1973 findings. Inter-relationships in the personal and background factors stem from a strong domestic-age effect: for instance marital status, duration of marriage, and number of offspring increase with age. Parties to long-term marriages tend to register their marriages or to have them solemnized in a church ceremony.

Age is inversely correlated with education and positively correlated with income. It is thought that the close association between age and education accounts for many spurious correlations between education and migration/urbanization variables.

Migrant career determinants: Age - possibly domestic-age - is the chief determinant of migrant career variables indicating which stage has been reached in an individual career. The combined effect of urban experience and age may affect an income increase. Urban experience increases with age and income: correlations of urban experience with further domestic-age indicators and education are considered spurious. The same applies to the stabilization variable. Despite its age correction, the stabilization index is significantly positively correlated with age, though the correlation value is lower than that between urban experience and age. Urban experience and stabilization are in turn highly positively associated. Both job mobility (JOBSHIFT) and job stability (JOBSTAB) increase with age, urban experience and stabilization. Job mobility and stability tend to complement each other and it is suggested that the combination of the two factors affords access to higher paid jobs in the course of an extended urban career (JOBSTAB and INCOME are positively but not quite significantly correlated). Career interruptions (HOVISIT) are found to be a function of the stage reached in the urban career. The home-visiting-in-case-of-unemployment-mechanism is presumed to be essential to effective

continuation of migrant careers under quasi-stabilization conditions. Nevertheless career interruptions by definition decrease the stabilization index score, that is reduce relative urban exposure in the space of a working lifetime. The fact that urban experience but not stabilization is significantly associated with the incidence of career interruption supports this argument. Inter-correlations between the above variables indicate cluster cohesion and replicate 1973 Hostels findings.

The newly introduced social mobility, step migration and migration tradition variables tend to be very weak. The only significant cluster inter-relationship including these variables is found between JOBSTAB and MIGTRAD, indicating that a higher proportion of respondents whose fathers were not migrant labourers exhibit higher job stability than others. This relationship may be age determined, older men exhibiting high job stability but less migration tradition. The 1975 data supports the idea that the migration tradition is increasing in time: a slightly higher proportion of younger (77%) than older (61%) migrants' fathers were migrant labourers (relationship insignificant at .01 level).

Determinants of rural contacts: Similar to the 1973 Hostels findings a clear, consistent picture emerges in this cluster though only the most indicative 'pattern' variables relating to visiting and remittance frequency are employed in the 1975 Study. Both visiting and remittance behaviour of migrants are determined by life-cycle factors such as higher domestic-age and advanced stage in the migrant career. The proportions of regular visitors are significantly higher among married men, and those scoring higher stabilization scores and exhibiting higher job stability. Similarly regular remitters are more likely to be older, married persons. Regular visitors and remitters tend to send back higher percentages of their incomes to the rural areas.

The significant negative correlation between population pressure and area of origin and remittance frequency is contrary to expectations and hardly interpretable. It is possible that a distance factor which has not been included in the 1975 Study acts as an intervening variable.²⁾

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- 2) Similarly the significant correlation between low population pressure and extra-hostel residence experience does not lend itself to intelligent interpretation. In both correlations above involving the pressure variable, the emphasis on the dependent variable refers to older migrants, but the explanatory intervening variable has not yet been identified. Having mentioned this significant correlation between PRESSURE and FORRES at this point, it will not be referred to later when discussing the residence variable cluster.

It is interesting to note that the wife's visiting pattern is not related to migrants' rural visiting and is a generally weak variable. This lends support to the proposition that the migrant himself assumes the dominant visiting role in his family; it is he who maintains the contact between the members of the family separated between town and country (cf. Chapter 11).

Determinants of rural investment: Rural orientation indicators over and above the single land rights variable employed in the 1973 Hostels Study are entered into the 1975 Study. A close positive association between the variables LAND, TAX, CATTLE and RURHOME is found. Nineteen-seventy-five findings suggest that domestic-age factors influence rural investments in terms of land rights, payment of taxes, building of a home and ownership of cattle. Higher urban experience, stabilization and job stability tend to be significantly related to the rural investment cluster. It might be argued that the stage reached in the migrant career is conducive to rural investment, due to the implication of a higher income status. For instance, cattle owners are more likely to remit higher percentages of their incomes to the rural home than other migrants. Increased rural contact and rural investment go hand in hand. It is interesting to note that career interruptions are particularly characteristic of those who have built a home in the rural area. Although urban unemployment may still be the chief factor initiating urban absence, it lies close at hand that persons may absent themselves from town for a long continuous period for building purposes.

A last variable TRIBE is less closely related to the cluster and possibly indicative of a general rural commitment. TRIBE is significantly related to the variable PATTERN, a higher proportion of regular visitors playing specific roles in tribal society.

Determinants of urban involvement: The distinction between personal and organizational involvement introduced earlier (cf. Chapter 13) appears feasible in the light of the 1975 Hostels multivariate analysis findings. As regards personal involvement, signs of the 'encapsulation' phenomenon are detected especially among older migrants. Closed networks encompassing roommates, drinking companions and companionship in general are indicated by the close association found between the variable ROOMMATE on the one hand and drinking companionship and urban companionship on the other hand. Even if networks are not completely closed, it is suggested that migrants may consistently keep the same type of company (either rural or urban-tied) outside the work situation. Urban companionship is more pronounced among the younger, less urban experienced and among those persons who play no particular role in tribal society. Further signs of tightly knit rural-oriented network systems among migrants are detected in the following findings: Persons whose wives visit them in town regularly and persons who are party to a traditional marriage maintain urban kinship ties to a greater extent than other migrants.

Due to insensitivity of the indicators employed, findings relating to organizational ties in town tend merely to confirm those

relating to personal ties in town. Club, church, burial society, thrift society, trade union and pension scheme membership are not significantly related to other variables included in the multivariate analysis with the exception of club membership which is indicative of 'urban' type leisure behaviour.

On the other hand, weekday and weekend leisure behaviour are extremely sensitive variables though categorization is somewhat arbitrary and may account for some overlap between closely associated variables. Generally speaking, urban weekday and weekend leisure activities are engaged in by younger, single persons, by those exhibiting less urban experience and job stability, and by those who have no or few commitments in the rural areas as regards family of procreation, land or a home. The positive correlation with education is thought to be age determined. Persons who have urban leisure pursuits are more likely to remit cash infrequently or not at all. Weekday and weekend leisure pursuits are positively related. Far more pronounced than these indications of urban leisure pursuits among young, unattached migrants, is the sharp rise in 'rural' type leisure activities accompanying an increase in domestic-age status. Consistent with the above findings the urban consumption pattern is least characteristic of persons with high job stability and vice versa.

Residential status determinants: As demonstrated in the in-depth analysis of the 1973 Hostels data, hostels residence duration (HOSRES) is best interpreted as a measurement of the stage reached in the migrant career. As with the other migration variables discussed above, the duration of hostel residence increases with life-cycle factors. The correlation pattern comprising high stabilization in town and high rural contacts and investments suggests that the long-term hostel resident represents the typical circular migrant worker, who makes the best of two worlds.

An additional residential history variable, former residence (FORRES), provides little additional information. Unfortunately indications as to the date of extra-hostel residence in the course of the migrant career are not incorporated into the variable definition, so it is difficult to interpret findings. Descriptive material discussed in Chapter 9 suggests that the expense involved in extra-hostel residence forces many migrants back to hostel accommodation especially in cases where township residence is regarded as an interim solution and the family is not brought to town to live with the migrant. One might conclude that just as long-term hostel residence is indicative of age, extensive urban experience and stabilization, so intermittent township residence is also part and parcel of the urban living experience, though not necessarily conducive to turning a 'migrant' into a 'townsman'.

FORRES and HOSRES are not significantly associated, therefore we presume that approximately half of the migrants with extra-hostel residence experience will have resided with kin before becoming eligible for job-tied hostel accommodation, while the other half of the group will have experienced township life as a lodger or the like later in their urban careers.

The most pertinent conclusion drawn from the above findings is that a substantial proportion of older migrants - who are more likely to be eligible for township family accommodation virtue registration of their marriages -, have actually experimented in residential or tenure mobility, but have reverted to their former hostels residence status for some reason or other.

Determinants of urban commitment and urban orientation: The specific urban commitment variable URBCOMMIT introduced into the 1975 Study is found to be particularly weak, possibly due to categorization. Virtually all respondents intend to spend their working lives in town and the few self-confessed target workers do not differ significantly from other migrants in any of the urbanization aspects under observation.

The second variable RUPREF used in the 1973 Hostels Study is sensitive even though rural residence preference is predominant among hostel dwellers. Similar to persons exhibiting urban personal and organizational ties, persons stating urban as against rural residence preference are most likely to be younger persons who have just started out on their urban careers and have only just entered into the expansion phase of the family cycle. The residence preference variable is consistently linked to key variables in other clusters. Those indicating urban residence preference are more likely to be infrequent remitters and to have no property in the rural areas. Urban companionship and urban consumption pattern go hand in hand with urban residence preference.

The variable RUPREF provides the link to a cluster of strong variables which we shall label 'urban orientation' including variables: township mobility aspirations, cattle/pension preference at retirement and rural-urban identification. A perfect positive correlation between urban residence preference and township residence aspirations exists. Urban residence preference on the one hand and pension preference, and urban identification on the other are also significantly correlated. The correlation between urban commitment and urban identification factors is consistent with Schlemmer's (1972) Durban research findings. Within the urban orientation cluster urban responses are predominantly given by the younger persons with low marital status who have little urban experience. The orientation cluster relates significantly to the involvement cluster in the 'urban' emphasis. Township residence aspiration and urban identification are consistently related to variables in the rural contact and investment cluster. It is interesting to note that HOSRES and IDENT are negatively associated, suggesting that long hostel residence may inhibit identification with the city.

Cluster inter-relationship involving the variables ASPMOB, CPPREF and IDENT is strong and consistent. The highest correlation is found between ASPMOB and IDENT indicating that persons will only identify with town when urban tenure status is adequately high to make urban commitment worthwhile. The last variable originally included in the cluster GOAL is virtually insensitive.

The 1975 Hostels Model: By way of a summary of the 1975 Hostels multi-variate analysis, a model representing major empirical relationships between migration and urbanization variables is presented in Figure 18. The model is based on a correlation matrix, an excerpt of which showing significantly correlated 1975 Hostels variables, is shown in Table 17.1. It will be noted that the 1975 Hostels Model refers to migrants of Rhodesian nationality living in bachelor quarters in town. In the case of married migrants, family separation is therefore given.

The 1975 Hostels Model generally confirms research findings outlined in the 1973 Hostels Model (cf. Figure 16, Chapter 15). However, the trends shown up in the 1975 analysis are more clear-cut due to greater sample homogeneity. Age and life-cycle determination of migration and urbanization are equally predominant in both Hostels Models.

As in the 1973 Hostels Model the inter-relationship indicated between stabilization and rural contact in the 1975 Hostels Model intimates that rural contacts are conducive to continued urban presence and a prolonged working career. In addition, stabilization factors in the 1975 Hostels Model also emerge as instrumental to rural investments (involving intensive rural contacts), which tend to stress the permanency of family separation.

In contrast to the 1973 Hostels Model, stabilization is not positively related to the urbanization aspects figuring at the bottom of the 1975 Hostels Model. A dotted line has been drawn dividing the upper and lower half of the model to indicate that combinations of emphases between clusters are inverse with relation to the dotted line. In the upper half of the model higher age, higher marital status and lower education go hand in hand with higher stabilization, higher income status, more intensive rural contacts and higher rural investments. The opposite variable emphasis combination is related to higher urban commitment and urban involvement.

However, the 1973 propositions as regards tendency for higher stabilization to be positively related to urban orientation aspects are not directly refuted by 1975 findings, because the pertinent urban orientation indicators are not replicated in the 1975 Study. It will be remembered that the 1973 urban orientation cluster was based largely on attitudinal items. Particular emphasis was placed on the appreciation of security factors involved in township living by the older, more stabilized type of migrant.

On the other hand, the introduction of additional urbanization aspects into the 1975 analysis actually supports the arguments put forward by way of an interpretation of the above relationship and the 1973 Hostels Model in general. It is proposed that the older migrant utilizes the rural home-visiting mechanism to the fullest and maximizes his rural status position at the cost of his urban one. One might assume that the long-term migrant is so involved in rural society in terms of land, a homestead, cattle and tax payments that upward tenure mobility in town is no longer a feasible proposition for him. Working and social life are neatly divided between the urban and rural sphere.

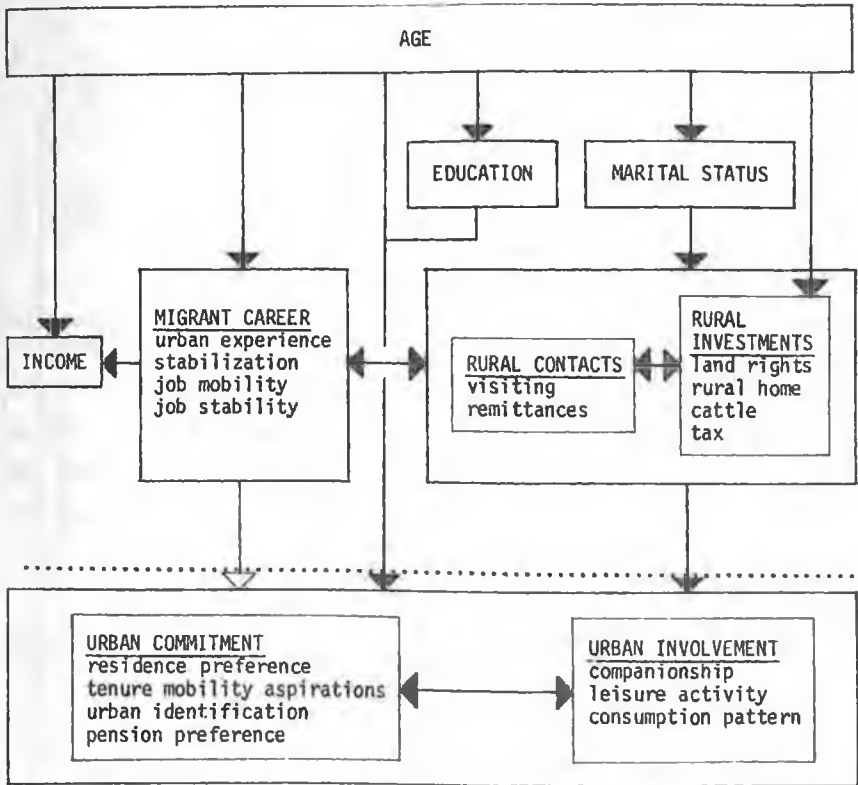


Figure 18 1975 Hostels Model

Table 17.1. 1975 Hostels Study

CC-Correlations between significantly related variables ($p < .01$)

Excerpt from lower half of correlation matrix.

Variable
Number and
descriptive
identification

Correlations with other variables in set:
Variables are identified by numbers and follow after the colons. Coefficients are underlined and follow after the equal signs, decimal commas are omitted.

2	PRESSURE	
3	AGE	
4	EDUCST	: 3 = 31
5	INCOME	: 3 = <u>27</u>
6	MARRST	: 3 = <u>48</u>
7	MARRTYPE	
8	MARRDUR	: 3 = 51, : 7 = 31
9	CHILDREN	: 3 = <u>53</u> , : 4 = <u>35</u> , : 7 = 38, : 8 = 59
10	URBEXP	: 3 = <u>58</u> , : 4 = <u>27</u> , : 5 = <u>32</u> , : 6 = <u>47</u> , : 7 = <u>28</u> , : 8 = <u>55</u> , : 9 = <u>49</u>
11	STAB	: 3 = <u>26</u> , : 4 = <u>25</u> , : 8 = <u>32</u> , :10 = <u>45</u>
12	STEPMIG	
13	MIGTRAD	
14	SOCMOB	
15	JOBSHIFT	: 3 = 32, : 6 = <u>25</u> , : 8 = <u>47</u> , : 9 = <u>37</u> , :10 = <u>46</u> , :11 = <u>36</u>
16	JOBSTAB	: 3 = <u>47</u> , : 4 = 36, : 6 = <u>34</u> , : 9 = <u>31</u> , :10 = <u>41</u> , :11 = <u>26</u> , :13 = <u>30</u>
17	HOVISIT	: 3 = <u>34</u> , : 6 = <u>22</u> , : 8 = <u>35</u> , : 9 = <u>29</u> , :10 = <u>35</u> , :15 = <u>38</u>
18	URBCOMMIT	
19	RUPREF	: 3 = 23, : 8 = 31, : 9 = 30
20	PATTERN	: 6 = <u>23</u> , :11 = <u>22</u> , :16 = <u>29</u>
21	WPATTERN	
22	REMITFR	: 2 = 22, : 3 = 24, : 6 = <u>28</u> , :19 = <u>27</u> , :20 = <u>52</u>
23	REMITPC	:20 = <u>34</u> , :22 = <u>38</u>
24	LAND	: 3 = 27, : 6 = <u>31</u> , :10 = 23, :16 = 31
25	TAX	: 3 = 26, : 6 = <u>35</u> , :16 = <u>27</u> , :20 = <u>22</u> , :22 = <u>22</u> , :24 = <u>23</u>
26	CATTLE	: 3 = <u>40</u> , : 5 = <u>39</u> , : 6 = 31, : 7 = 27, : 8 = 38, : 9 = <u>30</u> , :10 = <u>38</u> , :11 = <u>23</u> , :15 = <u>29</u> , :16 = <u>37</u> , :19 = <u>23</u> , :23 = <u>23</u> , :25 = <u>34</u>
27	RURHOME	: 3 = <u>55</u> , : 5 = <u>33</u> , : 6 = <u>51</u> , : 7 = 34, : 8 = 50, : 9 = <u>51</u> , :10 = <u>53</u> , :11 = <u>25</u> , :15 = <u>35</u> , :16 = <u>37</u> , :17 = <u>38</u> , :19 = <u>21</u> , :20 = <u>23</u> , :24 = <u>34</u> , :25 = <u>26</u> , :26 = <u>42</u>
28	TRIBE	:20 = 22
29	URBKIN	: 7 = <u>28</u> , :21 = <u>31</u>
30	DRINKCOMP	
31	CLUB	
32	CHURCH	
33	BURIALS	

Continued

A trace of the 'encapsulation' phenomenon is found, especially among the older migrant group and those with specific tribal roles, which may intensify rural orientation. Income mobility associated with increased age and stabilization in town may also be instrumental to further rural involvement. This behaviour may be interpreted as a reaction to tension caused by disequilibrium in the urban status configuration. The lagging urban tenure status may be disregarded by emphasizing the relevance of rural security of tenure instead.

The 1975 multivariate analysis also provides evidence that not only do older migrants receive higher wages than other hostel dwellers, but they also tend to remit higher percentages of their wages to the rural home. A linkage or feedback between income and the rural investment cluster might have been drawn in the Model for the older migrant case.

An interesting feature of the 1975 analysis is that it also reveals a clear consistent picture of younger migrants' status constellations. The rural or traditional status constellation of the younger migrant is frequently incomplete due to single marital status, no following, no land rights or cattle. A rural home is not yet warranted and rural contacts are fairly lax. In town the status of the younger migrant is marginal because he has only commenced his urban career. In short, a generally low status both in the urban and rural context is given. On the other hand, urban involvement appears to be the prerogative of the younger migrant group either because they have few responsibilities and commitments in the rural home to date or because they are genuinely more urban committed than their forefathers.

Whilst rural involvement and rural commitment are the rule with older migrants, the younger migrant group is split more evenly into rural and urban-oriented sections. It is suggested that as soon as the youngest migrants outlive their overall marginal urban status, advance in their urban careers, and improve their income status positions, differential solutions to resolve the concomitant status disequilibrium may be sought by the two groups respectively.

It is thought that the *rural-oriented* group is more likely to follow the traditional circular migration pattern, leaving the family behind in the rural areas, investing in rural security and thus simultaneously increasing rural dependence. Members of the *urban-oriented* group may resolve status disequilibrium by improving their tenure position and graduating from migrant to townsman status and by bringing their families to live with them in town. The perfect correlation between urban tenure mobility aspirations and urban family residence preference suggests that this solution presents a viable alternative for young migrants. Moreover, urban identification is highly positively associated with this type of urban commitment, suggesting that a transition from migrant to townsman status is requisite to urban identification.

Earlier on it was postulated that despite the leading income status, the relatively low earnings of migrants prohibited such a

transition, making the rural dependence and circular migration solution a self-evident choice for the migrant in former days. This need not necessarily be the case for the young migrant embarking on an urban career today. Possibly the young migrant of today is better equipped to cope with the exigencies of urban life than his father before him, due to the gradual diffusion of urban values from urban centres to the countryside. More importantly, it will be noted that the educational standard of younger migrants is generally higher, so that income and occupational advancement of migrants may increase in time. The shift away from age-cycle determinants of urban advancement to more modern merit criteria may already apply to the younger hostels generation of today and influence its income status.³⁾ If this trend holds, it will have important consequences for the urbanization process involving new in-migrants. As indicated in the 1973/74 Mufakose Model (cf. Figure 17, Chapter 16), the successful transition from migrant to townsman status appears to be dependent on socio-economic factors. An adequately high socio-economic status acts as a deterrent to prevent 'regression' to 'bachelor'-townsman accommodation conditions involving family separation, and enables the townsman to commit himself more completely to an urban life style.

Summary: A multivariate analysis is applied to the 1975 Hostels data which in contrast to the earlier 1973 Hostels data relates exclusively to Rhodesian migrants. The 1975 Hostels Model, based on empirical regularities found during the analysis, generally corroborates earlier findings, and revises and elaborates on urbanization aspects presented in the 1973 Hostels Model. It is confirmed that age and life-cycle factors are the principal determinants of migration and urbanization processes in the case of the Rhodesian migrants as well as for migrants in general. Among the younger migrant generation, urban involvement and commitment factors - combined with a provisionally incomplete rural status constellation - provide the potential for graduating from migrant to townsman. Considering that socio-economic barriers to such a transition are less evident among the younger migrant group, prospects for a successful transition are more favourable for the new migrant generation than hitherto.

3) Age factors tend to outweigh the effect of education on income within the hostels group at present, though persons in the highest educational category are predominantly members of the higher income group as well. Further evidence for the introduction of modern criteria for advancement are given in Chapter 7, particularly in Table 7.7.

CHAPTER 18.MULTIVARIATE ANALYSIS: DETERMINANTS OF URRANIZATION,
1975 MUFAKOSE AND KAMBUZUMA STUDY.

The multivariate analysis applied to the 1975 townships data is more extensive than the one applied to the Hostels data, due to the inclusion of a higher number of variables. Additional variables pertain to the wife's status, residential factors and a greater number of explorative urban commitment and attitudinal factors.

Method: A selection of 67 and 68 variables for 150 data sets were entered into the Mufakose and Kambuzuma analyses respectively, by and large ordered according to expected dependence structure. The description and categorization of the variables is given in Appendix E. As in the 1975 Hostels multivariate analysis, all variables with the exception of two education variables were dichotomized, a distinction between 'urban' and 'non-urban' responses being made for dependent variables. Items included in the exercise with abbreviations used for reference purposes are provisionally clustered and listed below.

Personal background and urban family/household factors: AGE, population PRESSURE in area of origin ('push-pull' factors), - MARRIAGE TYPE (MARRTYPE), MARRIAGE DURATION (MARRDUR), urban Household SIZE (HHSIZE), presence of LODGERS in urban household, urban FAMILY STRUCTURE, CHILDREN resulting from all marriages. - EDUCATIONAL standard attained by respondent, EDUCATIONAL standard attained by his wife (EDUCW), BOARDING SCHOOL attendance of children (BOARDSCH). - INCOME status, OCCUPATIONAL status of respondent, OCCUPATIONAL status of respondent's Wife (OCCW).

Residential variables: Mufakose: AREA/Kambuzuma: SECTION of residence in township, RESIDENCE duration in township HOUSE (RESHOUSE), RESIDENCE DURATION in township (RESDUR), proportion of married life spent in MARRIED ACCOMMODATION (MARRACC), Mufakose: type of township HOUSE occupied/Kambuzuma: EXTENSION made to township house, Mufakose: HOME IMPROVEMENTS made to township house (HOMEIMP)/Kambuzuma: TITLE held to township house and plot. - ASPIRATIONS for residential MOBILITY (ASPMOB), Mufakose only: HOME ownership ASPIRATIONS (HOMEASP).

Migration variables: Urban SCHOOLING experience, incidence of MIGRATION TRADITION in the family (MIGTRAD), type of rural-urban migration (STEPMIGRATION or direct migration), URBAN EXPERIENCE as an adult (URBEXP), STABILIZATION index, indications of SOCIAL MOBILITY in the migrant career (SOCMOB), number of jobs held in town since arrival (JOBSHIFT), JOB STABILITY (JOBSTAB), interruptions in the urban career (HOVISIT).

Urban commitment variables: Intentions of staying in town (URBCOMMIT), intentions of staying in town when UNEMPLOYED (UNEMPLOY), PLANS to RETIRE in town or rural areas (RETIREPLAN), rural-urban COMMITMENT after RETIREMENT (RETIRECOMM), Rural-Urban residence PREFERENCE.

Rural contact variables: Rural visiting PATTERN, Wife's rural visiting PATTERN (WPATTERN), REMITTance Frequency (REMITFR).

Rural investment variables: Rights to work a plot of LAND in the tribal areas, possession of a RURAL HOME (RURHOME), possession of CATTLE, payment of TAXes in the rural areas.

Urban involvement variables: Rural-urban INVESTMENTs made to date, PENSION scheme membership. - Urban KINship ties (URBKIN), urban COMPANIONship, urban DRINKING COMPanionship (DRINKCOMP), CHURCH membership, CLUB membership, THRIFT Society membership (THRIFTS), BURIAL Society membership (BURIALS), TRADE Union membership (TRADEU), weekday LEISure activity (LEIS1), weekend LEISure activity (LEIS2), CONSUMption pattern (CONSUM).

Rural-urban orientation and urban attitude variables: Fulfillment of a TRIBal role (TRIBE), Cattle/pension PREFERence at retirement (CPPREF), IDENTification with city, agreement with HYPothetical CONversationalist on following topics: urban retirement claim (HYPCON1), urban residence commitment for wives (HYPCON2), interest in community affairs versus politics (HYPCON3), security versus investment function of home-ownership house (HYPCON4), modern-traditional function of procreation (HYPCON5), African claim to Salisbury (HYPCON6), African claim to urban areas (HYPCON7). Traditional-modern life GOAL.

Following the procedure employed in the preceding chapters, we shall discuss one variable cluster after another, identifying determinants and checking internal consistency before summing up findings in the form of empirical models referring to the Mufakose and Kambuzima data respectively.

Determinant inter-relationship: By and large determinants can be grouped into age and domestic-age, urban household, and socio-economic factors. Not all variables originally included in the cluster emerge as first order determinants which are genuinely independent. As discovered in the 1973/74 Mufakose analysis, age factors tend to join forces with socio-economic factors, which appear to play the dominant role in the urbanization process in higher urban tenure groups. The degree of independence of household factors is however difficult to assess in African urban society, because family organization must be understood in conjunction with rural dependence.

Consonant with earlier findings, age factors tend to influence family, household and socio-economic status. Having been married longer, older townsmen tend to have more children and larger households. For historical reasons they and their wives generally have lower educational status, which in turn goes hand in hand with a generally low socio-economic status.

The counteractive effect of age and/or life-cycle factors working in one direction, and socio-economic factors working through intervening variables in the opposite direction, frequently blurs trends and makes it difficult to detect the dominating source of influence.

This is the case when interpreting relationships involving variables subject to this composite effect such as 'boarding school' and 'children'. It is for instance not quite clear if the incidence of fewer children in young urban families is predominantly influenced by the higher education of parents or is simply a matter of their youthfulness. Moreover conventional methods of control might prove useless, as the variable involved can only be measured post hoc.

The most important finding regarding the determinant cluster is that socio-economic variables are strongly and consistently inter-related. In both township samples, high income status is associated with the higher educational status of both townsmen and their wives, and this in turn reflects the higher occupational status of both spouses. It will be noted that a high occupational status among wives refers to townswomen being gainfully employed or occupied in town.

Boarding school attendance of children may conveniently be grouped with socio-economic factors, for it is indicative of higher standing social groups in both townships and similar in effect to other socio-economic factors. Boarding school determinants are disjunctive in effect. In both Mufakose and Kambuzuma boarding school attendance is influenced by life-cycle factors such as high age and/or marriage duration and by higher socio-economic status and income in particular. It is interesting to note that - despite the heavy financial burden involved in the two factors - Mufakose and Kambuzuma townsmen with a greater number of children (indicating high age status) tend to send their children to boarding school more often than other townsmen. In Mufakose christianity tends to reinforce the educational effect.

The marriage type variable is differently categorized for townships data than for hostels data, because all townsmen (with minor exceptions in Kambuzuma) are required to produce a marriage certificate referring either to a christian rite marriage or to registration of a traditional rite marriage on application for family housing. A christian marriage tends to be indicative of higher education and also socio-economic status in general.¹⁾ The christian marriage factor is more influential in Mufakose where church affiliation is strong. For instance, the Mufakose townsmen who are party to a christian rite marriage have attained significantly higher educational, income and occupational status positions than other townsmen, and more likely than not their wives are better educated and their children attend a boarding school.

Family structure is by definition linked to the presence of the wife in town. By contrast to the 'fragmented' urban family, we shall refer to the 'complete' urban family of the 'elementary' or 'elementary enlarged'

1) The important role of the church as an educating and modernizing agent in the African population sector has been discussed above (cf. Chapters 3, 13).

emphasis whenever the wife and at least one child is resident in town. In the 1973/74 Mufakose analysis it was found more exacting to remove the family structure variable from the determinant cluster and to place it farther down along the dependence chain closer to rural factors involving mobility of townsmen and their wives between town and country. Family structure may also be interpreted as a commitment indicator. In a similar vein (cf. Chapter 11), it was postulated that short, frequent 'urban' type visiting but not 'rural' visiting is compatible with the urban residence commitment of wives. The latter visiting pattern involves long periods of absence from town during the agricultural season or alternatively year-round residence in the country (cf. WPATTERN variable). In Kambuzuma the family structure is significantly more often complete where the wife is employed.

Likewise it may be more meaningful to move the PRESSURE variable down the dependence hierarchy and order it with rural factors. Consequential to the dichotomization of the variable concerned, persons originating from the highest pressure tribal areas (high rural push) are grouped together with those originating from urban areas (urban pull) and placed in the one category; persons emigrating from less overpopulated tribal areas (low rural push) are placed in the other category. In terms of push-pull theory the urbanization effect produced by the differential origin of the subgroups included in the first category is equivalent. For correctness' sake one might prefer to speak of a 'rural push/urban pull' category (the 'urban pull' emphasis comprises approximately one-third of this category group in both samples). The rural push/urban pull emphasis of the PRESSURE variable is related to complete family structure in the Mufakose data.

Household size may be consequential to keeping a greater number of the townsman's family inclusive extended family in town and/or taking in lodgers. Socio-economic factors may dictate the choice (cf. Chapters 4 and 8), for it is considered more costly to keep the family in town where even subsistence must be paid for in cash. In Mufakose lodgers are not officially permitted, in Kambuzuma home owners are required to register their lodgers. Permission to accommodate lodgers is only granted to Kambuzuma home owners who have extended their homes to meet specific size requirements. Residential and economic factors tend to create a vicious circle in Kambuzuma, because persons most dependent on the extra source of income derived from lodgers for developing their homes, must first invest capital in residential status improvement in order to augment their incomes. Obviously the lodger variable is more relevant to Kambuzuma than Mufakose, but it has strong implications for social status in both townships. In Kambuzuma, lodgers are found predominantly in the households of townsmen who occupy the lower rungs of the education/occupation/income hierarchy and whose wives also occupy relatively low education and occupation status positions. In the light of our data, it is highly probable that additional persons in large urban households are accounted for by the townsman's children rather than his lodgers in Mufakose, and by lodgers rather than children in Kambuzuma, but in both townships a complete urban family is conducive to large households.

Life-cycle and education factors tend to exert a counteracting influence on household size. If it is true that family members and lodgers are complementary factors as regards household size, then the accommodation of lodgers must be regarded as a mechanism which retards urban commitment. We shall return to this point later.

Residential status determinants: Seeing that Mufakose and Kambuzuma townsmen represent two different tenure groups they might be expected to differ extensively as regards residential factors. In fact it proved necessary to employ a different set of parameters to assess residential status in the two townships respectively.

Mufakose: The strong residential variables from the 1973/74 Mufakose Study are again entered into the 1975 analysis and the associational pattern corroborates earlier findings. As a summary indicator, the division between the higher standard 'core' section housing erected in the first period after the establishment of Mufakose and the newer section built later to cope with increased housing demands is extremely useful. By definition electrified (ELECTRICITY) and larger Mufakose houses (HOUSE) are located in the core areas (AREA). Long-term residence is obviously more likely to occur in the core areas for historical reasons. Nevertheless, the clear-cut consistent relationship between higher socio-economic status and residential status in both the 1973/74 and the 1975 Mufakose Studies is striking. Due to their higher domestic-age, long-term Mufakose residents are more likely to have been allotted a core area house. In keeping with their domestic-age status, long-term residents have more children and the fact that they keep their wives and children in town is likely to account for their larger households. Core area residence and improvements to the urban home are conducive to keeping the family in town. To complete the relationship network, complete families are usually larger, and larger households in turn are more likely to be found in the larger core area houses. Long-term core area residents excel in socio-economic status. Apart from access to higher standard accommodation including electricity and larger homes, core area residents are more privileged than their counterparts in the newer areas, because they have spent a larger proportion of their married life in family accommodation (MARRACC).

In Mufakose a status constellation featuring high social and residential status is closely associated with aspirations for moving to another township (ASPMOB) and/or with the desire to participate in a home-ownership scheme (HOMEASP).

Although township mobility aspirations and home-ownership aspirations are highly positively correlated, the latter variable is the stronger of the two. High socio-economic status (education/income/occupation/children at boarding school) including an employed wife, complete family structure and high residential status (core area residence, long-term residence, electricity) are significantly related to home-ownership aspirations.

In Kambuzuma the sectional division is less dominant. It is a well known fact that intra-township mobility is extremely low in home-ownership schemes and this is verified for the Kambuzuma case by the strong positive correlation between residence duration in house and residence duration in township. Longer residence in a particular house and the township is significantly related to the more established Sections 1 through 3.²⁾ Nevertheless, it appears that the head start given to long-term residents of the lower numbered sections for developing their homes has not been fully utilized. Newer section residents have caught up and surpassed their older section neighbours in many instances, suggesting that socio-economic status and not residential seniority sets the pace in home development. A significantly higher proportion of short-term residents have installed electricity in their homes and owners of electrified homes have in turn more often extended their homes and obtained title to their urban property. Life-cycle and socio-economic status partly complement and partly contradict each other in relation to residential status. The time factor is irrelevant to the higher income group because the owner-occupier is largely responsible for home development and therefore sets the pace with which he acquires residential status. In Kambuzuma, historical residential determination is offset by socio-economic factors and - by contrast to Mufakose - higher residential and social status is more evenly distributed throughout the township. Social status tends to dominate over residential seniority in determining higher residential status. This is least apparent as regards home extension, because the majority of Kambuzuma residents have added onto the original core unit. However, a significantly higher proportion of higher income persons and those with children at boarding school are found in extended houses. As might be expected and was mentioned earlier, larger households, complete urban families and lodgers are more often found in extended houses. Socio-economic factors are more discerning as regards elitist residential criteria. Social status indicators are significantly related to 'electricity in the home' and 'title to Kambuzuma property'. Household heads in electrified homes have fewer children and keep the family in town more often than other residents.

It is noteworthy that aspirations for yet higher residential mobility stem precisely from Kambuzuma residents characterized by relatively higher social and residential standing.

The variable MARRACC, referring to proportion of the married life spent in family accommodation, is less closely related to other variables in the Kambuzuma residential cluster. It would appear that persons located at the beginning of the life-cycle have been more privileged in respect of married accommodation in the past.

-
- 2) Residence in the older sections of Kambuzuma is also significantly related to the possession of a rural home, suggesting that life-cycle factors are involved in residential distribution in Kambuzuma.

The cross-tabulations of all variables included in the analysis with a *threefold* sectional division for Kambuzuma yield identical results to those executed with the *twofold* division.

Generally speaking, residential factors are determined by historical, life-cycle and socio-economic variables. In many instances these determinants reinforce each other, but socio-economic status tends to dominate. Within each tenure group the highest socio-economic status group tends to occupy the highest residential ranks and it is remarkable that precisely this group aspires to further improvement of residential status. Even if income factors are involved, higher residential status, especially in terms of space (HOUSE, EXTENSION), may be particularly conducive to keeping the family united in town.

Migrant career determinants: As found in the 1973/74 Mufakose in-depth analysis, migration variables relating to effective and relative exposure to urban environment tend to be weak due to generally high stabilization in the township groups. The effect of age on migration factors is frequently picked up by domestic factors. Whereas high age status is generally characteristic of the relatively more experienced and stabilized urban groups, low age status tends to be characteristic of persons with an urban school background (SCHOOL), migration tradition (MIGTRAD) and those who migrated to town directly from their rural home (STEPMIG). Urban birth is considered an extreme case of direct migration. These newly introduced variables emerge as far stronger in the townships than in the hostels analysis. Possibly this is due to the fact that the 'urban' emphasis for these variables includes the second urban generation, which is systematically represented in greater numbers from the Hostels to Kambuzuma samples. One might regard the variables SCHOOL, MIGTRAD and STEPMIG as conveying a type of 'supra-generational' stabilization factor which is at the same time effective on the level of the individual. It is possible that these indicators enable prediction of future residential commitment at an earlier stage of the life-cycle than the more conventional stabilization index measures.

As might be expected, higher education is significantly correlated with urban schooling. Occupation is strongly associated with type of migration, indicating that direct migration speeds up social mobility in town. The least delay with which access to urban status can be gained is given with urban origin and possibly an urban school background.

Age determination may be expected to affect further factors included in the migration cluster such as job mobility (JOBSHIFT), job stability (JOBSTAB) and career interruptions (HOVISIT). Job mobility tends to increase with domestic age (in the Kambuzuma sample with stabilization and urban experience as well), and therefore relates to items implying long-term residence. In Kambuzuma lower socio-economic status tends to go hand in hand with long-term residence; higher job mobility is therefore characteristic of persons in the lower income/occupational group. Job stability is associated with higher age status in Mufakose and with age related factors in both townships. The nature of the relationship between job mobility and job stability is difficult to assess adequately. In Mufakose the two factors are significantly inversely related, in Kambuzuma higher job mobility is positively associated with social mobility. It was suggested earlier that both the job mobility and job stability mechanism might be instrumental in achieving higher social status. Job

mobility may be employed to gain access to a satisfactory income status initially, and job stability may be instrumental to successively adjusting income status to increasing age status especially in the higher occupational ranks. It is thought that job mobility is possibly more beneficial to those acquiring skills on the job, and job stability is more opportune to formally trained persons who enter the occupational hierarchy at a relatively high level. The findings from our analysis are however inconclusive in this respect, because significant associations involving both job stability and attributes relating to higher educated Kambuzuma townsmen are definitely age determined.

By contrast to earlier studies, the home-visiting-in-case-of-unemployment (HOVISIT) mechanism is not exclusively age determined. The analysis reveals that social status and residential factors may well be instrumental to continued urban presence. Security afforded by adequate accommodation conditions may play a significant part in preventing career interruption. For example, Kambuzuma persons who have achieved equilibrium between marital and residential status in the past (MARRACC) are less likely to have interrupted their urban careers than other persons.

Determinants of urban commitment: Although quasi-stabilization policy applies to all Salisbury urban Africans, Kambuzuma townsmen can effectively achieve permanent stabilization by virtue of their superior tenure status. The stabilization issue would therefore be expectedly be more relevant to Kambuzuma than to Mufakose townsmen. As stabilization can only be measured in retrospect, permanent and even temporary stabilization measures (the latter measure referring to the space of an urban working lifetime) are at best approximated by urban commitment parameters. An entire set of commitment indicators (URBCOMMIT, UNEMPLOY, RETIREPLAN, RETIRECOMM, RUPREF) is used in the 1975 township analyses in order to allow for sufficient leeway for differential sensitivity to single items caused by specific tenure and residential conditions. Generally speaking urban commitment factors emerge as far stronger in the Kambuzuma than in the Mufakose sample.

In Mufakose urban commitment is most strongly expressed in terms of tenure mobility aspirations which are originally not included in the urban commitment cluster. As discussed under the residential status heading, home-ownership aspirations are characteristic of members of the higher socio-economic and residential group, who currently express urban commitment by keeping their families in town and allowing their wives to take up urban employment. The urban commitment variable proper, URBCOMMIT, is very weak for Mufakose data. This is most likely due to the fact that the cutting point between URBCOMMIT categories is set at a far higher level for township data than for hostels data - namely between 'temporary' and 'permanent' stabilization - and only few Mufakose townsmen intend to remain in town permanently.

Urban presence in case of unemployment (UNEMPLOY) is also less relevant for Mufakose townsmen, who under quasi-stabilization conditions

have fewer options for staying in town than Kambuzuma home owners. Consistent cluster cohesion between other urban commitment factors is achieved predominantly by the residential mobility factors HOMEASP and ASPMOB, and the cluster is consistently linked to higher socio-economic and residential status in many instances.

In the Kambuzuma data, cluster cohesion is marked by numerous positive associations between various urban commitment variables. According to its relationship pattern, aspirations for residential mobility (ASPMOB) may also be placed in the urban commitment cluster.

Thanks to the over-determination of the urban commitment parameters, an exact characterization of the urban committed Kambuzuma resident is possible. He is a younger person in a higher socio-economic and residential position. The lower household size and small number of children are in keeping with his lower age status. Although he may have come to Kambuzuma after many of his neighbours, he is more likely to have installed electricity in his home and to have obtained title to his urban property. He also expresses his urban commitment by accommodating his family in preference to lodgers in his urban home. His economic status makes this a viable solution. Links between the urban commitment cluster and the stabilization cluster are given in that the more urban committed person more often comes from a migration tradition and urban schooling background. The strong association of urban commitment with lower job stability is assumed to be spurious and is attributed to age factors.

Determinants of rural contacts and rural investments: The most sensitive rural contact variables of earlier studies - rural visiting frequency of townsmen and their wives, and remittance frequency - yield good results when merely dichotomized. The wife's visiting pattern is the strongest variable within the cluster which tends to dominate over townsmen's remittance and visiting behaviour. It would appear that the prus of maintaining a stake in the rural areas is squarely placed on the wife. The relatively high educational status of the wife, which frequently leads to her employment in town (= higher occupational status) tends to relieve the townswoman of duties at the rural home if rural links have been maintained at all.

The associational pattern of the rural investment variables introduced in the 1975 Studies - land, rural home, cattle and tax payments - show that rural investment is a requisite to maintaining rural links in the first place. A finding peculiar to the 1975 townships analyses is that push-pull factors such as population pressure are effective in cutting off rural ties and promoting urban commitment. As mentioned earlier persons originating from town or purchase area farms are grouped together with those persons originating from grossly over-populated tribal areas, so we must speak of a 'rural push/urban pull' group. In both townships samples this group most likely has no rights to tribal land. In Mufakose the rural push/urban pull factor is closely associated with lower visiting frequency of wives and no rural homes. The strong determination in the Mufakose sample where the emphasis on the urban pull aspect

tends to be weaker than in Kambuzuma, presents an even stronger case for the influence of the rural push in the urbanization process.

The association *within* and *between* the rural contact cluster and the rural investment cluster respectively is strong and consistent for both the Mufakose and the Kambuzuma data, with WPATTERN representing the strongest cohesive factor. Connections of both clusters to urban commitment factors are equally strong.

Visiting frequency and remittances increase when rights to land, a rural home and cattle are accessible in the rural areas and tax payments are made. In the negative emphasis these factors go hand in hand with higher urban commitment expressed in various items in Kambuzuma and most avidly in terms of tenure mobility aspirations in Mufakose.

One last question remains: Who are the townsmen who have no stake in the rural areas and have cut off their links to the tribal areas? Congruent with the associational patterns outlined above, we would expect the younger residents, occupying the higher socio-economic and residential positions in their respective townships to belong to the group cut off from the rural areas. This is the case in actual fact. In Kambuzuma there are indications that precisely because no investments in a rural home have been made, efforts to develop the urban home are more intense. Three variables relating to short-term residence (in house, township and newer sections) as well as the extended and electrified home variables are significantly related to absence of a rural home in the indicated emphases respectively.

Determinants of urban involvement and urban attitudes: Rural investment has its counterpart in the urban investment variables: rural-urban INVESTMENT and PENSION. The former is more sensitive in the Mufakose sample, because only a small proportion of persons claim to have invested in the urban areas. The dominance of residential factors is apparent and it is interesting to note that Mufakose urban investment is related to absence of lodgers and a complete family structure, an associational combination frequently encountered in the Kambuzuma data.

In Kambuzuma the pension variable is more indicative of higher social standing than urban investment, which amounts to a constant factor in a home-ownership scheme. Kambuzuma pension scheme members are very likely to be trade union members as well. The investment variable for Mufakose data and the pension variable for Kambuzuma data are consistently linked to both the rural contacts and rural investment clusters.

As in the 1975 Hostels analysis the organizational and personal ties (URBKIN, COMPANION, DRINKCOMP, CHURCH, CLUB, THRIFTS, BURIALS, TRADEU) variables are only loosely inter-related. However in Mufakose an interesting associational pattern which originates in the involvement cluster can be traced through several analysis clusters. There is evidence that urban involvement in terms of church, club and kinship ties is instrumental to social mobility in terms of job achievement. Mufakose

church and club members are predominantly parties to christian marriages, who - as discussed above - belong to the higher social ranks in Mufakose. The associational network between these variables is intact and balanced as shown in the diagram below. Links to variables beyond the ones placed in the inner circle indicate that higher urban involvement is conducive to higher urban commitment as well. At the same time higher urban involvement does not necessarily exclude rural involvement, an argument which is particularly pertinent to African urbanization (cf. Mayer 1962; Mitchell 1973). According to our analysis, church members are generally the most active persons in the Mufakose community and precisely this accounts for their participation in tribal burial societies (BURIALS) and tribal roles (TRIBE) as well as in pension schemes (PENSION).

Inter-relationship between selected Mufakose 1975 variables:

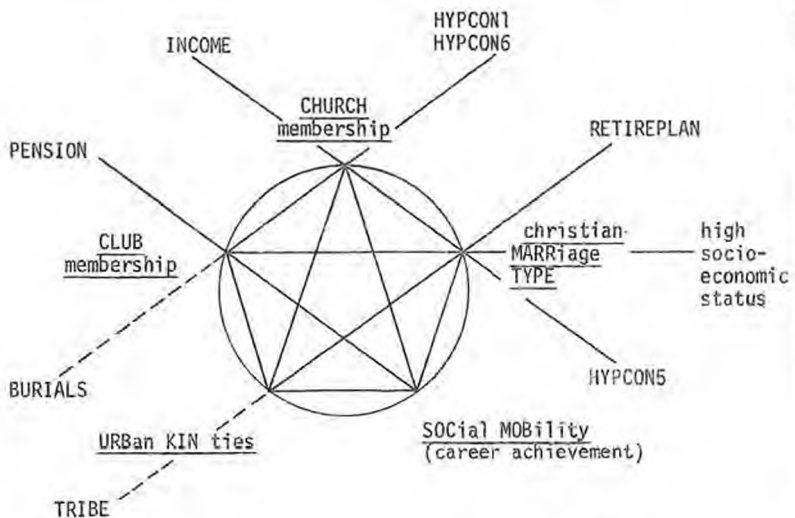


Diagram legend: Lines indicate CC-correlations significant at .01 level. Broken lines refer to connection of an 'urban' type emphasis with a 'rural' one. Note that incidence of urban kin ties is considered an 'urban' emphasis.

It is interesting to note that maintenance and not - as anticipated - emancipation from urban kinship ties is positively correlated with upward mobility.³⁾ It would appear that urban kinship ties are conducive to urban commitment, because the social network is drawn from the country into town, thus townsmen can be dispensed from their rural contact duties to a certain degree. Furthermore urban kin ties - especially with their positive connection to general organizational ties in town - cannot be equated with the encapsulation phenomenon, traces of which were found in the hostels. It will also be remembered that companionship and drinking companionship (the latter is usually irrelevant for church members) is by and large urban-tied in the townships samples, so that exclusive rural-tied contacts in town are most unusual among townsmen.

In Kambuzuma church and club membership go hand in hand. Significantly, church and club membership are also indicative of leisure activity. The fact that higher urban involvement in terms of club membership and leisure activity are the prerogative of the younger age set is quite pronounced in the Kambuzuma data. As found in the 1975 Hostels analysis, weekday and weekend leisure activities follow suit in both township samples. Weekend leisure activities are also indicative of urban commitment and visiting patterns in the Kambuzuma data.

The analysis also reveals that thrift society membership in Kambuzuma is significantly related to low income and lack of electricity in the home, suggesting that persons of limited means may attempt to augment their building capital by pooling resources with neighbours.

One of the strongest variables included in the urban involvement set is consumption pattern (CONSUM). Urban consumption may be regarded as a type of investment, so that strong links to the INVESTMENT and PENSION variables in the Mufakose data set are understandable. Most striking is, however, the relationship of higher consumption with the entire set of urban commitment variables relevant to the Mufakose and Kambuzuma samples respectively. The associational pattern indicates that consumers represent the elite in both townships in respect of social and residential criteria. It is perhaps significant that Mufakose high consumers have more frequently made home improvements than their neighbours. Urban consumption is negatively associated with rural contacts in both samples.

Urban identification (IDENT) is strongest among the urban committed without rural ties who have made urban investments (INVESTMENT, CONSUM).

The 'pension as against cattle choice at retirement' variable (CPPREF) follows the same associational pattern as the urban identification

3) In Kambuzuma urban kinship ties are likewise significantly correlated to characteristic attributes of higher social standing persons.

variable. In Mufakose, rural push/urban pull factors appear to influence hypothetical cattle ownership as well as factual cattle ownership.

The life goal variable (GOAL) in the modern emphasis is consistently related to higher urban status, but adds little knowledge over and above that already gained. The relative insensitivity of the GOAL variable is due to the general acceptance of modern life goals among townsmen.

Although the hypothetical conversation items cover a number of topics, findings referring to them reveal consistent trends. In the Kambuzuma data urban responses are strongly positively related to the urban commitment/involvement clusters and inversely related to rural contact/investment variables. In the Mufakose data fewer links to the urban commitment and rural contact clusters exist. According to the correlation pattern, persons evincing urban attitudes on the hypothetical conversations belong to the higher social ranks in both townships.

Some topically flavoured relationships between analysis items are very telling:

- a) In Mufakose an urban retirement claim is more often made by persons who have achieved an equilibrium between marital and residential status in the past (MARRACC).
- b) Attitudes and actual behaviour are consistent as regards urban residence commitment for wives: townsmen who keep their families in town and whose wives engage only in occasional or no rural visiting are most likely to consider it a townswoman's duty to stay in town with her husband.
- c) The township house function item (HYPCON4) is only sensitive to Kambuzuma data, indicating its immediate relevance for home owners. Those regarding urban homes as a security rather than as an investment are most likely to belong to the higher Kambuzuma social group. Significantly, their home accommodates their own families rather than lodgers.
- d) Congruence between attitudes and behaviour is similarly observed as regards the 'function of procreation' item, although age determination is not altogether out of question. Persons who regard the ideal number of children in relation to financial means rather than old age security, are found predominantly among younger persons, and among those who have significantly fewer children and smaller households in Mufakose. At the same time the more 'modern' conception of family size is significantly related to social status in both townships.
- e) An African claim to Salisbury is made by higher status persons who at the same time exhibit higher urban involvement.

Several of the hypothetical conversations items are consistently inter-correlated in the data sets of both samples.

The 1975 Mufakose and Kambuzuma Models: From the foregoing discussion of analyses findings it may seem superfluous to distinguish between a Mufakose and Kambuzuma Model. We have nevertheless opted to make this distinction, because differing tenure conditions tend to affect the mode of urban commitment made by the two townsmen groups.

The results of the 1975 Mufakose and Kambuzuma multivariate analyses are presented in condensed form in the models depicted in Figures 19 and 20, which are based on two correlation matrices, excerpts of which are shown in Tables 18.1 and 18.2. It will be noted that the 1975 Mufakose Model refers to married Rhodesian household heads residing in rented family accommodation, the 1975 Kambuzuma Model to married Rhodesian household heads residing in home ownership (freehold) family accommodation. These factors are considered as constants and are therefore not explicitly shown in the models.

Generally speaking the 1975 townships models are almost identical and also closely resemble the 1975 Hostels Model. This in itself is a significant result and leads to the conclusion that similar mechanisms pertaining to the urbanization process are effective in all urban groups, specific differences relating to varying tenure status positions. All models confirm our working hypothesis, that higher socio-economic status and higher security of tenure are conducive to higher urban involvement and commitment.

The most convincing evidence produced by the 1975 analyses relates to the fact that higher socio-economic status persistently dominates over any other advantages that in-migrants may possess in terms of ascribed status positions or their derivatives, such as seniority in marriage duration, urban experience and residence duration. It is therefore not surprising that the younger urban generation, which frequently possesses the advantage of extensive urban experience as well, is more involved and committed to urban life than the preceding generations in town.

In Mufakose the domination of a younger urban group in connection with urban commitment and higher social-residential status is less pronounced for historical reasons. The first inhabitants moving into Mufakose were selected by an income criterion and moved straight into the superior residential area - the only existing area at the time - immediately upon arrival. Meanwhile the age status of this group has increased while its residential status remains rigid. In Kambuzuma where residential status is largely *achieved*, newcomers to the township of higher socio-economic standing have caught up and surpassed their more established neighbours in respect of residential position.⁴⁾

4) It will be noted that the same cutting point between age categories is applied to both Kambuzuma and Mufakose data. A higher proportion of the Mufakose sample is included in the higher age category, which accounts for higher congruence between domestic-age and residential status among the Mufakose prototype urban committed persons: the core area residents.

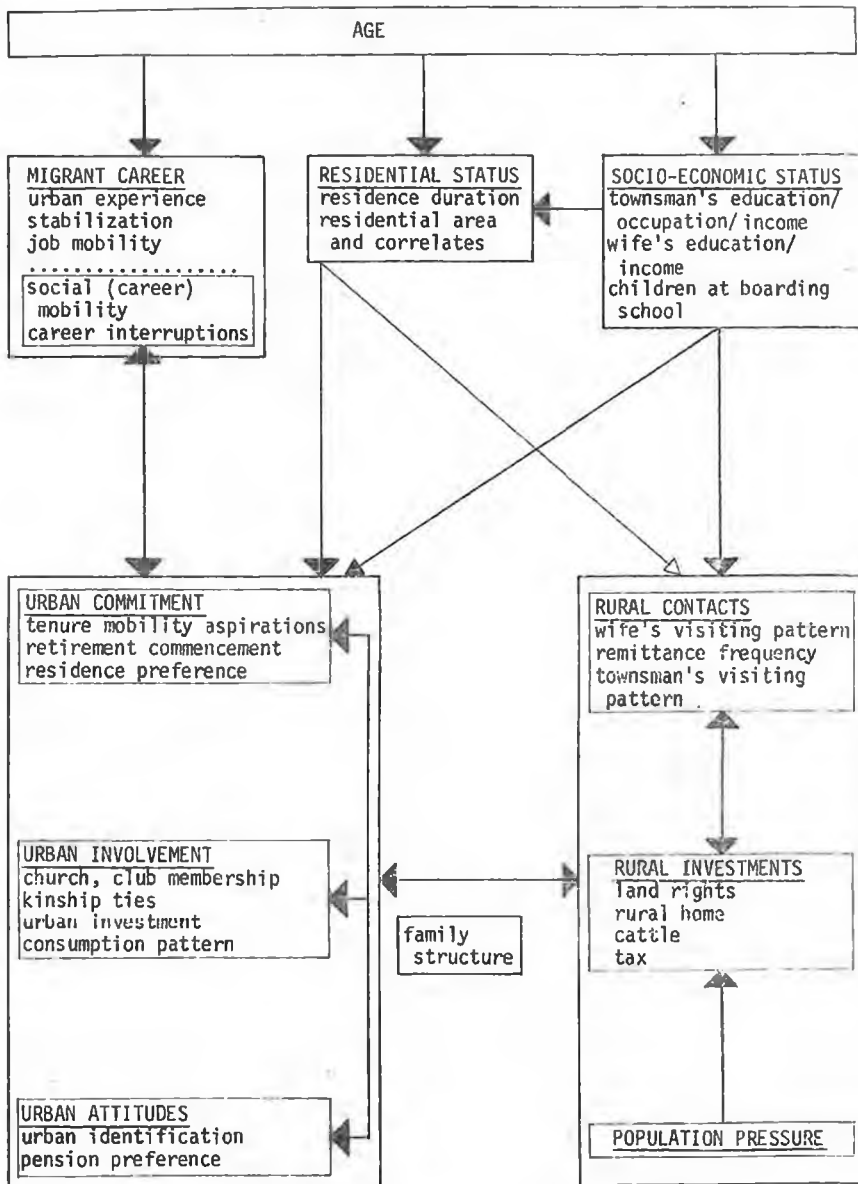


Figure 19 1975 Mufakose Model

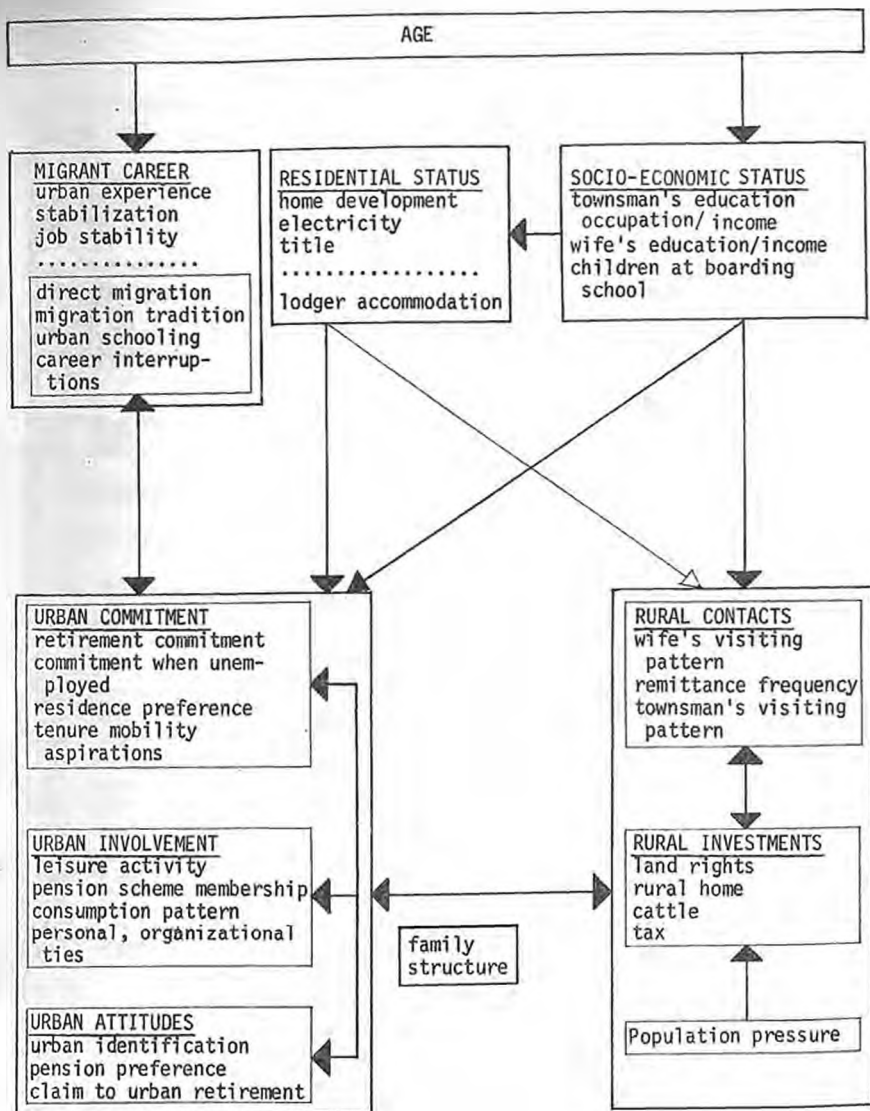


Figure 20 1975 Kambuzuma Model

Table 18.1. 1975 Mufakose Study

CC-Correlations between significantly related variables ($p < .01$)

Excerpt from lower half of correlation matrix.

Variable
Number and
descriptive
identification

Correlations with other variables in set:
Variables are identified by numbers and follow after
the colons. Coefficients are underlined and follow
after the equal signs, decimal commas are omitted.

1	AGE	
2	PRESSURE	
3	MARRTYPE	
4	MARRDUR	: 1 = <u>38</u>
5	HHSIZE	
6	LODGERS	: 1 = <u>22</u>
7	FAMSTR	: 2 = <u>26</u> , : 5 = <u>31</u>
8	CHILDREN	: 1 = <u>30</u> , : 4 = <u>40</u> , : 5 = <u>32</u>
9	EDUC	: 1 = <u>32</u> , : 3 = <u>34</u>
10	EDUCW	: 1 = <u>35</u> , : 3 = <u>31</u> , : 4 = <u>26</u> , : 6 = <u>26</u> , : 8 = <u>26</u> , : 9 = <u>59</u>
11	BOARDSCH	: 3 = <u>23</u> , : 4 = <u>24</u> , : 8 = <u>21</u>
12	INCOME	: 3 = <u>24</u> , : 9 = <u>37</u>
13	OCC	: 3 = <u>27</u> , : 9 = <u>43</u> , :10 = <u>35</u> , :12 = <u>51</u>
14	OCCW	:12 = <u>25</u> , :13 = <u>26</u>
15	GOAL	: 9 = <u>25</u>
16	AREA	: 5 = <u>22</u> , : 7 = <u>23</u> , :11 = <u>24</u> , :13 = <u>24</u>
17	RESHOUSE	:16 = <u>41</u>
18	RESDUR	: 4 = <u>22</u> , : 8 = <u>23</u> , :11 = <u>26</u> , :13 = <u>21</u> , :14 = <u>22</u> , :16 = <u>45</u> , :17 = <u>55</u>
19	MARRACC	: 1 = <u>28</u> , : 4 = <u>23</u> , : 9 = <u>30</u> , :10 = <u>28</u> , :12 = <u>25</u> , :13 = <u>30</u> , :16 = <u>24</u>
20	HOUSE	: 4 = <u>25</u> , : 5 = <u>25</u> , :11 = <u>31</u> , :13 = <u>21</u> , :16 = <u>37</u> , :17 = <u>31</u> , :18 = <u>33</u>
21	HOMEIMP	: 7 = <u>26</u>
22	ELECTRICITY	: 5 = <u>22</u> , : 7 = <u>23</u> , :11 = <u>24</u> , :13 = <u>24</u> , :15 = <u>58</u> , :17 = <u>41</u> , :18 = <u>45</u> , :19 = <u>24</u> , :20 = <u>37</u>
23	ASPMOB	:15 = <u>21</u>
24	HOMEASP	: 7 = <u>26</u> , : 9 = <u>26</u> , :11 = <u>22</u> , :12 = <u>27</u> , :13 = <u>24</u> , :14 = <u>26</u> , :15 = <u>33</u> , :16 = <u>31</u> , :18 = <u>27</u> , :22 = <u>31</u> , :23 = <u>53</u>
25	SCHOOL	: 1 = <u>22</u>
26	MIGTRAD	: 4 = <u>21</u>
27	STEPMIG	
28	URBEXP	: 1 = <u>44</u> , : 4 = <u>35</u> , : 8 = <u>24</u> , :10 = <u>29</u> , :17 = <u>21</u>
29	STAB	: 3 = <u>23</u> , :25 = <u>34</u> , :28 = <u>39</u>
30	URBCOMMIT	
31	SOCMOB	: 3 = <u>25</u> , :11 = <u>25</u>
32	JOBSHIFT	: 8 = <u>24</u> , :16 = <u>24</u> , :17 = <u>27</u> , :18 = <u>28</u> , :22 = <u>24</u>
33	JOBSTAB	: 1 = <u>22</u> , :26 = <u>22</u> , :32 = <u>21</u>

Continued

Table 18.1. Continued 1975 Mufakose Study

34	HOVISIT	:10 = <u>29</u>					
35	UNEMPLOY						
36	RETIREPLAN	: 3 = <u>25</u> , :11 = <u>24</u> , :12 = <u>28</u> , :13 = <u>29</u> , :16 = <u>26</u> , :20 = <u>21</u> , :22 = <u>26</u> , :23 = <u>22</u> , :24 = <u>23</u>					
37	RETIRECOMM	:20 = <u>23</u> , :23 = <u>23</u> , :24 = <u>22</u> , :30 = <u>21</u>					
38	RUPREF	:10 = <u>28</u> , :16 = <u>26</u> , :20 = <u>29</u> , :22 = <u>26</u> , :24 = <u>24</u> , :30 = <u>32</u>					
39	PATTERN	: 2 = <u>26</u> , : 7 = <u>28</u> , :34 = <u>24</u>					
40	WPATTERN	: 2 = <u>27</u> , : 5 = <u>24</u> , : 7 = <u>37</u> , :13 = <u>25</u> , :14 = <u>29</u> , :16 = <u>34</u> , :19 = <u>22</u> , :20 = <u>25</u> , :22 = <u>34</u> , :23 = <u>23</u> , :24 = <u>34</u> , :38 = <u>22</u> , :39 = <u>37</u>					
41	REMITFR	: 7 = <u>33</u> , :16 = <u>25</u> , :22 = <u>25</u> , :39 = <u>34</u> , :40 = <u>50</u>					
42	LAND	: 2 = <u>36</u> , : 7 = <u>24</u> , : 8 = <u>27</u> , :39 = <u>28</u> , :40 = <u>41</u> , :41 = <u>37</u>					
43	RURHOME	: 2 = <u>25</u> , : 8 = <u>27</u> , :39 = <u>25</u> , :40 = <u>38</u> , :41 = <u>30</u> , :42 = <u>50</u>					
44	CATTLE	:30 = <u>24</u> , :39 = <u>26</u> , :40 = <u>30</u> , :41 = <u>34</u> , :42 = <u>33</u> , :43 = <u>27</u>					
45	TAX	:13 = <u>23</u> , :39 = <u>24</u> , :40 = <u>24</u> , :41 = <u>28</u> , :42 = <u>35</u> , :43 = <u>35</u> , :44 = <u>21</u>					
46	INVESTMENT	: 6 = <u>23</u> , : 7 = <u>35</u> , :13 = <u>23</u> , :14 = <u>26</u> , :16 = <u>31</u> , :19 = <u>29</u> , :20 = <u>23</u> , :22 = <u>31</u> , :37 = <u>24</u> , :38 = <u>28</u> , :40 = <u>27</u> , :41 = <u>23</u> , :44 = <u>23</u>					
47	PENSION	: 9 = <u>25</u> , :33 = <u>22</u>					
48	URBKIN	: 3 = <u>22</u> , :31 = <u>29</u>					
49	COMPANION	:20 = <u>27</u> , :26 = <u>22</u>					
50	DRINKCOMP	:49 = <u>45</u>					
51	CHURCH	: 3 = <u>45</u> , :11 = <u>25</u> , :31 = <u>28</u> , :48 = <u>23</u>					
52	CLUB	: 3 = <u>26</u> , :31 = <u>26</u> , :47 = <u>22</u> , :48 = <u>28</u> , :51 = <u>35</u>					
53	THRIFTS						
54	BURIALS	:20 = <u>22</u> , :52 = <u>35</u>					
55	TRADEU						
56	LEIS1	:19 = <u>24</u> , :42 = <u>22</u>					
57	LEIS2	: 1 = <u>25</u> , : 9 = <u>31</u> , :19 = <u>23</u> , :56 = <u>38</u>					
58	CONSUM	: 9 = <u>33</u> , :10 = <u>25</u> , :11 = <u>29</u> , :12 = <u>39</u> , :13 = <u>38</u> , :14 = <u>21</u> , :16 = <u>45</u> , :17 = <u>33</u> , :18 = <u>37</u> , :19 = <u>25</u> , :20 = <u>34</u> , :21 = <u>29</u> , :22 = <u>45</u> , :24 = <u>27</u> , :36 = <u>23</u> , :38 = <u>27</u> , :40 = <u>22</u> , :46 = <u>25</u>					
59	TRIBE	:15 = <u>25</u> , :20 = <u>23</u> , :48 = <u>26</u> , :55 = <u>22</u>					
60	IDENT	:16 = <u>21</u> , :20 = <u>22</u> , :22 = <u>21</u> , :30 = <u>28</u> , :38 = <u>46</u> , :40 = <u>29</u> , :41 = <u>26</u> , :46 = <u>22</u> , :58 = <u>21</u>					
61	CPPREF	: 2 = <u>21</u> , :19 = <u>21</u> , :21 = <u>22</u> , :60 = <u>23</u>					
62	HYPCON1	:14 = <u>25</u> , :19 = <u>27</u> , :37 = <u>23</u> , :40 = <u>29</u> , :51 = <u>25</u>					
63	HYPCON2	: 7 = <u>23</u> , :16 = <u>26</u> , :22 = <u>26</u> , :37 = <u>21</u> , :39 = <u>24</u> , :40 = <u>29</u> , :44 = <u>21</u> , :45 = <u>22</u> , :60 = <u>31</u> , :61 = <u>22</u> , :62 = <u>27</u>					
64	HYPCON3	:28 = <u>21</u> , :41 = <u>22</u>					
65	HYPCON4						
66	HYPCON5	: 1 = <u>24</u> , : 3 = <u>23</u> , : 5 = <u>23</u> , : 8 = <u>21</u> , : 9 = <u>34</u> , :13 = <u>30</u>					
67	HYPCON6	: 9 = <u>33</u> , :12 = <u>22</u> , :13 = <u>26</u> , :24 = <u>23</u> , :51 = <u>21</u> , :63 = <u>21</u>					
68	HYPCON7	:12 = <u>23</u> , :13 = <u>21</u> , :57 = <u>25</u> , :62 = <u>23</u>					

Table 18.2. 1975 Kambuzuma Study

CC-Correlations between significantly related variables ($p < .01$)

Excerpt from lower half of correlation matrix.

Variable	Correlations with other variables in set:
Number and descriptive identification	Variables are identified by numbers and follow after the colons. Coefficients are underlined and follow after the equal signs, decimal commas are omitted.

1	AGE	
2	PRESSURE	
3	MARRTYPE	
4	MARRDUR	: 1 = <u>48</u>
5	HHSIZE	
6	LODGERS	: 5 = <u>34</u>
7	FAMSTR	: 5 = <u>24</u>
8	CHILDREN	: 1 = <u>40</u> , : 4 = <u>46</u>
9	EDUC	: 1 = <u>29</u> , : 4 = <u>29</u> , : 6 = <u>24</u> , : 8 = <u>35</u>
10	EDUCW	: 4 = <u>21</u> , : 6 = <u>31</u> , : 8 = <u>26</u> , : 9 = <u>42</u>
11	BOARDSCH	: 1 = <u>36</u> , : 4 = <u>37</u> , : 8 = <u>33</u>
12	INCOME	: 6 = <u>22</u> , : 8 = <u>23</u> , : 9 = <u>42</u> , :10 = <u>37</u>
13	OCC	: 1 = <u>25</u> , : 4 = <u>28</u> , : 6 = <u>31</u> , : 9 = <u>35</u> , :12 = <u>42</u>
14	OCCW	: 6 = <u>36</u> , : 7 = <u>23</u> , : 9 = <u>29</u> , :10 = <u>50</u> , :12 = <u>30</u> , :13 = <u>25</u>
15	GOAL	
16	SECTION	
17	RESHOUSE	: 1 = <u>33</u> , : 4 = <u>35</u> , : 6 = <u>24</u> , : 8 = <u>35</u> , : 9 = <u>27</u> , :14 = <u>22</u> , :16 = <u>28</u>
18	RESDUR	: 1 = <u>29</u> , : 4 = <u>33</u> , : 8 = <u>32</u> , : 9 = <u>25</u> , :11 = <u>23</u> , :16 = <u>25</u> , :17 = <u>63</u>
19	MARRACC	: 4 = <u>22</u> , : 8 = <u>23</u>
20	EXTENSION	: 5 = <u>23</u> , : 6 = <u>22</u> , : 7 = <u>29</u> , :11 = <u>23</u> , :12 = <u>22</u>
21	TITLE	: 9 = <u>25</u> , :12 = <u>26</u> , :13 = <u>27</u>
22	ELECTRICITY	: 7 = <u>29</u> , : 8 = <u>22</u> , : 9 = <u>39</u> , :10 = <u>34</u> , :12 = <u>43</u> , :13 = <u>34</u> , :14 = <u>35</u> , :17 = <u>21</u> , :20 = <u>39</u> , :21 = <u>23</u>
23	ASPMOB	:10 = <u>26</u> , :12 = <u>26</u> , :21 = <u>26</u>
24	-	
25	SCHOOL	: 1 = <u>25</u> , : 9 = <u>30</u> , :23 = <u>25</u>
26	MIGTRAD	: 7 = <u>23</u> , :23 = <u>23</u> , :25 = <u>34</u>
27	STEPMIG	: 4 = <u>28</u> , :13 = <u>21</u>
28	URBEXP	: 1 = <u>36</u> , : 4 = <u>49</u> , : 8 = <u>44</u> , :11 = <u>22</u> , :17 = <u>23</u> , :19 = <u>22</u>
29	STAB	: 4 = <u>27</u> , : 5 = <u>21</u> , : 8 = <u>23</u> , :25 = <u>29</u> , :28 = <u>55</u>
30	URBCOMMIT	: 5 = <u>22</u> , : 6 = <u>35</u> , : 7 = <u>22</u> , : 8 = <u>21</u> , : 9 = <u>43</u> , :10 = <u>37</u> , :12 = <u>41</u> , :13 = <u>34</u> , :14 = <u>39</u> , :21 = <u>29</u> , :22 = <u>42</u> , :23 = <u>33</u> , :26 = <u>26</u>
31	SOCMOB	
32	JOBSHIFT	: 1 = <u>23</u> , : 8 = <u>26</u> , : 9 = <u>32</u> , :12 = <u>21</u> , :13 = <u>22</u> , :17 = <u>22</u> , :19 = <u>23</u> , :21 = <u>24</u> , :28 = <u>33</u> , :29 = <u>25</u> , :30 = <u>21</u>

Continued

Table 18.2. Continued 1975 Kambuzuma Study

33	JOBSTAB	: 6 = <u>21</u> , : 8 = <u>23</u> , :14 = <u>24</u> , :15 = <u>24</u> , :17 = <u>21</u> , :30 = <u>26</u>
34	HOVISIT	: 9 = <u>25</u> , :19 = <u>24</u> , :22 = <u>22</u>
35	UNEMPLOY	: 6 = <u>27</u> , : 7 = <u>30</u> , : 9 = <u>31</u> , :10 = <u>34</u> , :12 = <u>35</u> , :13 = <u>22</u> , :14 = <u>43</u> , :20 = <u>22</u> , :21 = <u>21</u> , :22 = <u>38</u> , :30 = <u>46</u> , :33 = <u>24</u>
36	RETIREPLAN	: 9 = <u>30</u> , :10 = <u>24</u> , :13 = <u>23</u> , :14 = <u>28</u> , :23 = <u>32</u> , :30 = <u>24</u> , :33 = <u>21</u> , :35 = <u>22</u>
37	RETIRECOMM	: 6 = <u>23</u> , : 7 = <u>23</u> , : 8 = <u>21</u> , : 9 = <u>38</u> , :10 = <u>29</u> , :12 = <u>40</u> , :13 = <u>34</u> , :14 = <u>33</u> , :21 = <u>27</u> , :22 = <u>33</u> , :23 = <u>28</u> , :26 = <u>21</u> , :30 = <u>52</u> , :33 = <u>21</u> , :35 = <u>45</u> , :36 = <u>36</u>
38	RUPREF	: 1 = <u>22</u> , : 4 = <u>22</u> , : 6 = <u>21</u> , : 7 = <u>24</u> , : 8 = <u>34</u> , : 9 = <u>40</u> , :10 = <u>30</u> , :12 = <u>38</u> , :13 = <u>27</u> , :14 = <u>32</u> , :17 = <u>26</u> , :18 = <u>23</u> , :21 = <u>23</u> , :22 = <u>38</u> , :23 = <u>24</u> , :25 = <u>27</u> , :30 = <u>44</u> , :33 = <u>21</u> , :35 = <u>45</u> , :36 = <u>21</u> , :37 = <u>45</u>
39	PATTERN	:22 = <u>27</u> , :30 = <u>26</u> , :34 = <u>27</u> , :35 = <u>28</u> , :37 = <u>26</u> , :38 = <u>23</u>
40	WPATTERN	: 6 = <u>26</u> , : 7 = <u>44</u> , : 9 = <u>35</u> , :10 = <u>34</u> , :12 = <u>27</u> , :13 = <u>21</u> , :14 = <u>39</u> , :20 = <u>29</u> , :22 = <u>35</u> , :23 = <u>23</u> , :25 = <u>24</u> , :30 = <u>39</u> , :33 = <u>21</u> , :35 = <u>49</u> , :37 = <u>33</u> , :38 = <u>41</u> , :39 = <u>31</u>
41	REMITFR	: 7 = <u>40</u> , : 8 = <u>23</u> , : 9 = <u>27</u> , :10 = <u>31</u> , :12 = <u>27</u> , :14 = <u>37</u> , :21 = <u>23</u> , :22 = <u>35</u> , :23 = <u>22</u> , :25 = <u>21</u> , :30 = <u>37</u> , :34 = <u>22</u> , :35 = <u>49</u> , :36 = <u>21</u> , :37 = <u>45</u> , :38 = <u>39</u> , :39 = <u>41</u> , :40 = <u>55</u>
42	LAND	: 2 = <u>37</u> , :19 = <u>21</u> , :25 = <u>28</u> , :35 = <u>28</u> , :37 = <u>26</u> , :40 = <u>29</u> , :41 = <u>37</u>
43	RURHOME	: 6 = <u>32</u> , : 7 = <u>39</u> , : 9 = <u>38</u> , :10 = <u>36</u> , :12 = <u>33</u> , :14 = <u>39</u> , :16 = <u>22</u> , :17 = <u>27</u> , :18 = <u>24</u> , :20 = <u>23</u> , :22 = <u>40</u> , :26 = <u>23</u> , :30 = <u>49</u> , :35 = <u>53</u> , :36 = <u>23</u> , :37 = <u>42</u> , :38 = <u>38</u> , :39 = <u>31</u> , :40 = <u>53</u> , :41 = <u>49</u> , :42 = <u>40</u>
44	CATTLE	:14 = <u>21</u> , :26 = <u>27</u> , :30 = <u>29</u> , :35 = <u>27</u> , :37 = <u>29</u> , :38 = <u>21</u> , :39 = <u>24</u> , :40 = <u>34</u> , :41 = <u>35</u> , :42 = <u>47</u> , :43 = <u>35</u>
45	TAX	:30 = <u>22</u> , :35 = <u>26</u> , :39 = <u>21</u> , :40 = <u>36</u> , :41 = <u>33</u> , :42 = <u>51</u> , :43 = <u>39</u> , :44 = <u>35</u>
46	INVESTMENT	: 7 = <u>29</u> , :20 = <u>31</u> , :34 = <u>22</u> , :40 = <u>24</u>
47	PENSION	: 4 = <u>21</u> , : 6 = <u>22</u> , : 7 = <u>23</u> , : 9 = <u>31</u> , :10 = <u>25</u> , :12 = <u>30</u> , :13 = <u>28</u> , :19 = <u>24</u> , :21 = <u>24</u> , :22 = <u>34</u> , :30 = <u>32</u> , :32 = <u>27</u> , :35 = <u>25</u> , :38 = <u>25</u> , :40 = <u>24</u> , :41 = <u>23</u> , :43 = <u>22</u>
48	URBKIN	: 6 = <u>25</u> , : 9 = <u>27</u>
49	COMPANION	
50	DRINKCOMP	
51	CHURCH	: 3 = <u>28</u>
52	CLUB	:28 = <u>21</u> , :51 = <u>45</u>
53	THRIFTS	:12 = <u>22</u> , :22 = <u>25</u>
54	BURIALS	
55	TRADEU	:47 = <u>24</u>

Continued

Table 18.2. Continued 1975 Kambuzuma Study

56	LEIS1	: 2 = <u>21</u> , : 3 = <u>21</u> , :10 = <u>29</u> , :28 = <u>22</u> , :51 = <u>23</u> , :52 = <u>29</u>
57	LEIS2	:14 = <u>24</u> , :22 = <u>31</u> , :30 = <u>24</u> , :38 = <u>23</u> , :40 = <u>22</u> , :51 = <u>23</u> , :56 = <u>21</u>
58	CONSUM	: 7 = <u>23</u> , : 8 = <u>23</u> , : 9 = <u>43</u> , :10 = <u>36</u> , :11 = <u>21</u> , :12 = <u>41</u> , :13 = <u>26</u> , :14 = <u>36</u> , :20 = <u>28</u> , :22 = <u>49</u> , :30 = <u>41</u> , :35 = <u>35</u> , :36 = <u>22</u> , :37 = <u>33</u> , :38 = <u>35</u> , :40 = <u>31</u> , :41 = <u>22</u> , :43 = <u>34</u> , :47 = <u>21</u> , :57 = <u>24</u>
59	TRIBE	
60	IDENT	: 7 = <u>22</u> , :12 = <u>24</u> , :13 = <u>25</u> , :14 = <u>22</u> , :22 = <u>23</u> , :30 = <u>27</u> , :35 = <u>39</u> , :37 = <u>32</u> , :38 = <u>41</u> , :39 = <u>28</u> , :40 = <u>39</u> , :41 = <u>29</u> , :42 = <u>22</u> , :43 = <u>34</u> , :46 = <u>31</u> , :58 = <u>26</u>
61	CPPREF	: 7 = <u>27</u> , : 8 = <u>26</u> , : 9 = <u>26</u> , :12 = <u>35</u> , :13 = <u>27</u> , :20 = <u>22</u> , :22 = <u>32</u> , :30 = <u>32</u> , :32 = <u>24</u> , :35 = <u>32</u> , :37 = <u>29</u> , :38 = <u>33</u> , :40 = <u>26</u> , :41 = <u>28</u> , :43 = <u>28</u> , :46 = <u>22</u> , :47 = <u>30</u> , :58 = <u>28</u> , :60 = <u>25</u>
62	HYPCON1	: 6 = <u>23</u> , :12 = <u>26</u> , :14 = <u>23</u> , :26 = <u>24</u> , :30 = <u>37</u> , :35 = <u>29</u> , :37 = <u>37</u> , :38 = <u>37</u> , :40 = <u>22</u> , :41 = <u>29</u> , :42 = <u>22</u> , :43 = <u>27</u> , :44 = <u>23</u> , :57 = <u>27</u>
63	HYPCON2	: 6 = <u>26</u> , : 7 = <u>29</u> , : 9 = <u>30</u> , :12 = <u>33</u> , :13 = <u>34</u> , :14 = <u>33</u> , :20 = <u>26</u> , :22 = <u>35</u> , :23 = <u>25</u> , :30 = <u>46</u> , :35 = <u>41</u> , :36 = <u>21</u> , :37 = <u>42</u> , :38 = <u>33</u> , :39 = <u>29</u> , :40 = <u>40</u> , :41 = <u>39</u> , :43 = <u>46</u> , :45 = <u>25</u> , :58 = <u>38</u> , :60 = <u>29</u> , :61 = <u>36</u>
64	HYPCON3	: 3 = <u>22</u> , :15 = <u>22</u> , :32 = <u>21</u> , :62 = <u>22</u>
65	HYPCON4	: 6 = <u>28</u> , : 7 = <u>21</u> , : 9 = <u>32</u> , :12 = <u>33</u> , :13 = <u>27</u> , :14 = <u>30</u> , :19 = <u>25</u> , :21 = <u>23</u> , :22 = <u>22</u> , :23 = <u>23</u> , :26 = <u>21</u> , :30 = <u>45</u> , :33 = <u>23</u> , :35 = <u>34</u> , :36 = <u>25</u> , :37 = <u>42</u> , :38 = <u>36</u> , :40 = <u>37</u> , :41 = <u>33</u> , :42 = <u>26</u> , :43 = <u>38</u> , :45 = <u>22</u> , :48 = <u>24</u> , :58 = <u>24</u> , :62 = <u>33</u> , :63 = <u>44</u>
66	HYPCON5	: 9 = <u>30</u> , :12 = <u>26</u> , :13 = <u>22</u> , :20 = <u>26</u> , :22 = <u>39</u> , :30 = <u>25</u> , :40 = <u>22</u> , :43 = <u>29</u> , :58 = <u>26</u> , :61 = <u>21</u> , :63 = <u>31</u>
67	HYPCON6	: 8 = <u>25</u> , :12 = <u>26</u> , :13 = <u>21</u> , :22 = <u>21</u> , :26 = <u>22</u> , :58 = <u>25</u>
68	HYPCON7	:46 = <u>23</u> , :60 = <u>21</u> , :67 = <u>23</u>

By way of a qualification of this first finding, the effect of socio-economic status is systematically increased with tenure status.

- a) Thus, in the Hostels sample the urban committed persons have high educational qualifications, but due to their youthfulness, have not yet achieved the higher income or marital status of their older hostels counterparts. Urban commitment is therefore largely limited to aspirations for township accommodation.
- b) Representatives of renters (Mufakose) occupying higher social positions also express their urban commitment largely in terms of tenure aspirations. Having reached the ceiling of the residential hierarchy in rented housing, they desire to become home owners, in order to increase urban security to match their higher income positions.
- c) In Kambuzuma, home-ownership tenure status permits residents greater flexibility to adjust their residential status to rising social positions. Urban commitment is therefore expressed chiefly in terms of permanent stabilization, that is residence in town after retirement. In support of this argument the most urban committed tend to view their urban home foremost as their present and future security which serves as a permanent home for their families also in case of unemployment. It is also significant that lodgers are most frequently accommodated by those home owners, who are less affluent and also regard their urban house chiefly in terms of a sound financial investment. There are nevertheless limits to the amount of capital a person can invest into a home of modest Kambuzuma dimensions, which may account for some expression of residential mobility aspirations in terms of inter-township mobility. This mode of commitment is probably less relevant to many Kambuzuma residents because of the minute scale of superior residence positions beyond the Kambuzuma home-ownership scheme.⁵⁾

The multivariate analyses also confirm that various aspects of urban involvement are conducive to urban commitment. Urban investment, urban organizational and personal ties are particularly evident among townsmen in the higher social ranks. Consistent with what is often referred

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- 5) Alternatively Kambuzuma home owners may choose to invest excess economic assets in the rural areas, with the difference that investments are made in the African Purchase Areas rather than in the tribal areas. Land is held on an individual basis rather than on a communal one in the purchase areas. There are some indications that purchase area investment is practised by Kambuzuma home owners and a few references in this respect have been made when reporting on the 1975 Study findings (cf. Chapters 10 and 12). However, a discussion of the African response to limits imposed on their making capital investments in town and country surpasses the scope of this study.

to as the distinctive characteristic of African urbanization, there are some indications that urban and rural involvement in terms of investments and organizational ties and personal networks need not exclude each other even among the highly urban committed. This finding refers chiefly to the Mufakose data, indicating that dual involvement in town and country may relax if quasi-stabilization conditions are lifted. There are also signs that if higher social status is conducive to urban involvement, urban involvement in turn may lead to socio-economic status gains. The institution of the church and the kinship system may be particularly instrumental in achieving access to higher social positions.

The frequently aired view that urban family stabilization is a question of income status (or wages) is substantially confirmed by our findings. The 1975 Models clearly demonstrate that when rural dependence is a necessity rather than a matter of choice, a stake must be claimed in the rural areas, and the wife frequently assumes the eminently important role of the 'keeper'. In the 1975 Hostels Model this role is virtually constant and not depicted as such, in the townships models the dominance of the WPATTERN variable reflects the significance of rural residence (or at least seasonal visiting) if security benefits are to be reaped in the tribal areas. Ultimately there may be limits to the number of stakes which can be claimed in the tribal areas and there are some indications that population pressure may have grave consequences for the younger African urban generation. Persons without access to tribal land, either by birth or due to population pressure in their home area, are effectively cut off from the tribal social security system.

Under conditions of quasi-stabilization policy pushing in the direction of rural dependence, whilst population pressure is simultaneously pushing in the opposite direction of permanent stabilization, the higher economic/freehold tenure status group is the only one able to survive. By virtue of its privileged tenure status this group has de facto opportunities for circumventing the quasi-stabilization condition. It will be noted that the two-way relationship between the migration and rural contact/investment clusters is not indicated in the 1975 Kambuzuma Model.

A third important finding refers to the emergence of a new younger urban generation, which aspires to stabilization expressed by a degree of urban commitment reaching beyond the limits set by its present tenure or residential status positions respectively. There is sufficient evidence in the 1975 Study to show that urban identification and a claim to permanent stabilization is found predominantly among persons who have a past history and/or future chances of achieving satisfactory residence status.

Summary: A more extensive multivariate analysis is applied to 1975 Mufakose and 1975 Kambuzuma data referring to Rhodesian townsmen occupying rented and home ownership family accommodation respectively. Major empirical findings are represented in the 1975 Mufakose and Kambuzuma Models. Comparing the 1975 Models for the migrant and townsmen groups, it is confirmed that determination of urban status tends to shift systematically

from life-cycle to modern socio-economic criteria from the migrant to townsmen group. Access to central urban status lines may therefore be more open to the younger generations in town. In the higher tenure groups where the determination shift is complete, the working hypothesis is confirmed within each tenure group. *Higher socio-economic status is positively related to residential status, which in turn is indicative of higher urban commitment and involvement.* In the intermediate tenure group urban commitment is expressed most avidly in terms of tenure mobility, in the highest tenure group in terms of permanent stabilization.

CHAPTER 19.MULTIVARIATE ANALYSIS: PRINCIPAL COMPONENT FACTORIZATION,
1975 HOSTELS, MUFAKOSE AND KAMBUZUMA STUDY.

Instead of adopting the somewhat tedious cluster analysis approach outlined in the preceding chapters, which involves scouting through numerous cross-tabulation tables and correlation matrices, we might have tackled the problem of sorting out the complex inter-relations between 1975 Study variables by resorting to mathematical analysis. Factor analysis techniques have variously been employed (cf. Mitchell, Shaul 1965; Grant 1969; Mitchell 1969b; Mitchell 1973) to discover which groups of variables have certain characteristics in common pertaining to the urbanization process. Factorization applied to urbanization attributes of individuals aims at reducing the multiple aspects involved in the process to a single urbanization dimension.

The chief objective of factor analysis is to identify common factors accounting for inter-correlations between given variables. A direct factor solution, which satisfies the principle of parsimony in reducing a large number of related variables to a small number of independent factors, was applied to the 1975 Study data. The principal components derived in this analysis may be defined as the variously weighted sums of the original variates. Consonant with this definition, it is possible to alter the factor structure by introducing or eliminating variables.

A selection of urbanization variables for the 1975 Hostels, Mufakose and Kambuzuma samples respectively were subjected to a principal component analysis.¹⁾

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- 1) Methodological Notes: A standard principal components programme adapted to overcome the shortage of core space on smaller computers (Davies 1971:291ff.; McCabe undated) was employed. Latent vectors were determined from a covariance matrix derived from the observation set consisting of a set of multivariate scores for all individuals in the sample. When subjecting the 1975 data to component analysis, a problem common to urban sociologists seeking to apply factorization methods to artificially dichotomized data is encountered. Standard principal component and factor analysis programmes compute coefficients which are more suitable for continuously distributed data and this partly accounts for low values of factor loadings (cf. Cattell; 1952: 326-327 for effects of correlation index in factor analysis).

In the 1975 Hostels data zero values indicating no information are included in the observation set (cf. Appendix D). In the 1975 Mufakose and Kambuzuma data sets, no-observation/non-response cases are assigned to one or the other pole consistent with implications for urbanization (cf. Appendix E).

Continued

1) Continued

Kaiser's criterion for determining the number of factors extracted is adopted; only factors having latent roots greater than one are regarded as common factors. This criterion is considered particularly suitable for principal components designs of factor analysis and according to Cattell is most reliable when between 20 and 50 variables are involved (Child 1970: 43-44).

When deciding which factor loadings are worth considering for interpretation, loadings are treated in a similar fashion to correlation coefficients. The interpretation of loadings of at least ± 0.158 and ± 0.209 may be recommended for the .05 and .01 level of confidence respectively when $N = 150$. Under the given circumstances of low coefficients being entered into the principal components computation, the less rigorous level of .05 is accepted as significant. The adoption of the less stringent criterion might also be considered appropriate in the 1975 Study case, because only the first factor is extracted and a high number of variables are involved (Child 1970: 45-46, Appendix B).

Acknowledgement: I am indebted to Dr. T. McCabe formerly of the Division of Biological Sciences at the University of Rhodesia for making his PRINVEC computer programme available to me for purposes of the 1975 Study multivariate analysis.

Table 19.1. 1975 Study

Factor matrix for urbanization variables

Hostels		Mufakose		Kambuzuma	
variable	common factor loading	variable	common factor loading	variable	common factor loading
INCOME	9	PRESSURE	18	FAMSTR	15
MARRTYPE	-42	FAMSTR	21	INCOME	20
URBEXP	25	INCOME	17	OCCW	18
STAB	15	OCCW	10	ASPMOB	11
STEMIG	-4	GOAL	15	SCHOOL	10
MIGTRAD	-2	HOMEIMP	15	MIGTRAD	11
SOCMOB	-37	ASPMOB	15	URBEXP	-1
JOBSHIFT	23	HOMEASP	22	STAB	0
JOBSTAB	-27	URBEXP	-0	URBCOMMIT	24
HOVISIT	-13	STAB	-1	SOCMOB	1
URBCOMMIT	-1	SOCMOB	7	JOBSTAB	-10
RUPREF	-5	JOBSTAB	-2	UNEMPLOY	27
PATTERN	-11	UNEMPLOY	11	RETIREPLAN	13
WPATTERN	-44	RETIREPLAN	11	RETIRECOMM	25
REMITFR	-12	RETIRECOMM	10	RUPREF	25
REMITPC	-13	RUPREF	18	PATTERN	14
LAND	-9	PATTERN	20	WPATTERN	27
TAX	-8	WPATTERN	34	REMITFR	26
CATTLE	-15	REMITFR	26	LAND	12
RURHOME	-23	LAND	16	RURHOME	27
TRIBE	-2	RURHOME	16	CATTLE	15
URBKIN	4	CATTLE	14	TAX	12
DRINKCOMP	-3	TAX	9	PENSION	12
CLUB	-1	INVESTMENT	22	CHURCH	-1
CHURCH	1	PENSION	10	CLUB	1
BURIALS	-0	URBKIN	-12	LEIS1	2
THRIFTS	0	CHURCH	16	LEIS2	11
TRADEU	1	CLUB	12	CONSUM	19
PENSION	2	LEIS1	12	IDENT	16
LEIS1	-10	LEIS2	15	CPPREF	15
LEIS2	-11	CONSUM	23	HYPCON1	16
COMPANION	-5	TRIBE	-6	HYPCON2	23
CONSUM	-4	IDENT	20	HYPCON4	22
HOSRES	15	CPPREF	13	HYPCON5	11
ROOMMATE	2	HYPCON1	17		
FORRES	10	HYPCON2	16		
ASPMOB	-5	HYPCON3	-3		
CPPREF	-7	HYPCON5	7		
IDENT	-5	HYPCON6	13		
GOAL	0				
latent root percentage variance	2,1 20,0	latent root percentage variance	1,1 13,2	latent root percentage variance	1,9 24,1

decimal commas omitted

heavy loadings underlined (+15)

The loadings on the principal component factors extracted - one for each sample - are set out in Table 19.1.

Principal component content is necessarily a function of the variables selected for examination. The set of variables referring to the 1975 Hostels sample was more limited in scope than that referring to the townships samples right from the start. The original sets of townships variables were identical with the exception of the few sample specific items. The townships variable sets were then manipulated slightly in successive programme runs to increase the percentage variance explained by the principal component.

Before passing on to the interpretation of factor loadings, it will be observed that the variance explained by the extracted factors is relatively low. This may prompt one to regard the minute examination of inter-relationships between variables undertaken earlier as expedient after all; in any case it will be prudent to interpret items with high factor loadings in conjunction with the cluster analysis results presented in the preceding chapters.

The 1975 Hostels principal component:

The fact that the principal component of the 1975 Hostels variables has heavy loadings on life-cycle determinants of urbanization is congruent with earlier findings. Urban commitment among migrants is by and large expressed in terms of continuous urban presence, such as urban experience (URBEXP), stabilization (STAB), and hostels residence duration (HOSRES). Migrant career variables (SOCMOB, JOBSHIFT, JOBSTAB) are best interpreted as functions of the migrant life-cycle, which may affect higher urban status in the course of a lifetime. By the same token, rural dependence in terms of property investment (RURHOME, CATTLE) and provision for the family left behind at the rural home increases. Thus, despite eligibility by virtue of their family status and marriage type (MARRTYPE), few stabilized migrants are in a position to free themselves from rural ties sufficiently in order to commit themselves more fully to urban life. It will be noted that loadings of typical urban commitment/involvement items are predominantly negative which indicates a rural emphasis. It therefore seems appropriate to refer to the common component of 1975 Hostels variables as a *stabilization* factor rather than a genuine urban commitment factor. Consonant with earlier findings that stabilization and life-cycle variables on the one hand and urban commitment variables on the other hand are inversely related in the migrant sample, we would expect older stabilized hostel dwellers to score lowest on the 'stabilization' factor and the younger urban committed hostel dwellers to score highest. Alternatively we might reverse the signs of the factor loadings.

The 1975 Mufakose and Kambuzuma urban commitment/involvement scale:

When considering items by factor loadings in descending order of magnitude, the backbone of both 1975 Mufakose and 1975 Kambuzuma principal component factors consists of urban commitment and involvement items. In this context, absence of rural ties may be regarded as implied urban commitment or involvement. By selecting only the items with heaviest factor loadings (those above +0.158 are significant at the .05 level), an 'urban commitment/urban involvement' scale is devised for both tenure groups as shown in Tables 19.2 and 19.3.

Urban commitment/involvement scale		Common factor loading
item identification	response	
40 WPATTERN	Wife visits rural areas occasionally or not at all	34
41 REMITFR	Remits cash occasionally or not at all to rural areas	26
58 CONSUM	Possesses at least 4 of 11 standard consumer items	23
24 HOMEASP	Aspires to home ownership in town	22
46 INVESTMENT	Has made some investments in town	22
7 FAMSTR	Elementary/elementary enlarged family resides in town	21
39 PATTERN	Visits rural areas occasionally or not at all	20
60 IDENT	Considers himself a person of the town	20
38 RUPREF	Prefers permanent residence with family in town	18
2 PRESSURE	Originates from grossly over-populated tribal area, town or purchase area	18
12 INCOME	Earns at least \$70 per month	17
62 HYPCON1	Makes urban retirement claim	17
51 CHURCH	Attends church regularly or irregularly	16
43 RIIRHOME	Has built a house in the rural areas	16
63 HYPCON2	Expresses urban residence commitment for wives	16
42 LAND	Has no rights to land in tribal area	16
23 ASPMOB	Aspires to inter-township residential mobility	15
21 HOMEIMP	Has made improvements to township house	15
15 GOAL	Aspires to modern life goal	15
57 LEIS2	Engages in urban leisure activities over weekends	15
decimal commas omitted		

Table 19.3. 1975 Kambuzuma Study

Urban commitment/involvement scale

item identification	response	common factor loading
35 UNEMPLOY	Expresses urban commitment for family and self in case of unemployment	27
40 WPATTERN	Wife visits rural areas occasionally or not at all	27
43 RURHOME	Has not built a house in the rural areas	27
41 REMITFR	Remits cash occasionally or not at all to rural areas	26
37 RETIRECOMM	Intends to stay on in town after retirement	25
38 RUPREF	Prefers permanent residence with family in town	25
30 URBCOMMIT	Thinks he will always be in town/born or bred in town	24
63 HYPCON2	Expresses urban residence commitment for wives	23
65 HYPCON4	Considers home-ownership house as a security rather than investment	22
12 INCOME	Earns at least \$105 per month	20
58 CONSUM	Possesses at least 5 of 11 standard consumer items	19
14 OCCW	Wife is gainfully employed or homemaker in town	18
60 IDENT	Considers himself a person of the town	16
62 HYPCON1	Makes urban retirement claim	16
7 FAMSTR	Elementary/elementary enlarged family resides in town	15
61 CPPREF	Prefers pension to cattle at retirement	15
44 CATTLE	Possesses no cattle in the rural areas	15
decimal commas omitted		

With respect to the 1975 Hostels sample it does not seem appropriate to devise an *urban commitment/involvement scale* for the lowest tenure group, so long as urban commitment items relevant to hostel dwellers are restricted to ones referring to urban presence alone. Furthermore, such a scale would have to be adjusted for age groups. As observed earlier, members of the youngest category are most likely to accomplish a transition from migrant to townsman as soon as they reach a certain point in their life-cycle. At this moment the urban commitment/involvement scale devised for the townships samples also becomes applicable to them.

It is conceivable that items which are specific to each tenure group, that is vary systematically according to level of urban status position, may be eliminated. Thus a scale with wider application possibilities might be developed. However, for purposes of this study, it is precisely these varying emphases of the three component factors extracted

for each sample, which provide substantial support for the differential commitment postulated for the three urban groups under examination.

A special feature of the computer programme used to execute the component analysis, is that it calculates a principal component score for each sample individual.²⁾ By selecting the two lowest and the two highest scoring respondents in each sample and referring to the raw data contained in the original questionnaire schedules, a true-to-life characterization of extreme types in each urban group can be made. At the same time, the reader himself can judge the strength of the scale in selecting persons who might generally be considered to exhibit extreme urban commitment/involvement relative to their tenure status.³⁾ The four most extreme cases in each of the three tenure samples, as determined by their principal component scores are presented below. The 12 cases selected by the computer together with their principal component scores are displayed in Table 19.4.

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- 2) A similar method is employed by Mitchell and Shaul (1965:631ff.). Urban commitment factor coefficients are converted into percentages, rounded and used as weights to yield a factor score as measured by the factor attributes (items). The commitment score ranges from 100, when a man exhibits each attribute, to zero when he exhibits none of them. The index derived by this method is validated by computing scores for categories of persons known to differ sharply in respect of the factor concerned (Mitchell, Shaul 1965:631-632; Mitchell 1969b:488-490).
 - 3) Note that this procedure is not intended to validate the scale yielded by the principal component analysis. A validity test would involve the application of the scale to a second independent sample. The case histories cited are merely meant to illustrate extreme status constellations within each tenure group in conjunction with their urban commitment and involvement behaviour.

Table 19.4. 1975 Study

Computer-selected extreme cases of urban commitment/involvement

score indicates ⁴⁾	principal component score of sample individual in:					
	Hostels*		Mufakose		Kambuzuma	
high urban commitment/involvement	Mr. A: 0,1920	Mr. B: 0,1628	Mr. E: 5,8029	Mr. F: 5,8444	Mr. I: 4,8301	Mr. J: 4,8499
low urban commitment/involvement	Mr. C: -4,8978	Mr. D: -4,9621	Mr. G: 9,7997	Mr. H: 10,0046	Mr. K: 9,4017	Mr. L: 9,6204

* Contrasting direction of Hostels score values relates to inverse association between Hostels stabilization and urban commitment/involvement.

- 4) In the townships data sets, low principal component scores indicate high urban commitment/involvement, because urban responses were assigned the lower score '1', non-urban responses the higher score '2'. It will be noted that the high loadings on the Hostels 'stabilization' factor are for the most part negative, i.e. relate to non-urban responses. Poles are reversed for the Hostels data set, reflecting that the most stabilized hostel dweller is rural-oriented, whilst the least stabilized hostel dweller may express an urban commitment which is similar to that of his townsman counterpart.

Case studies of urban commitment/involvement in the 1975 Study:Hostels: high urban commitment/involvement

- * Mr. A of Harare Hostels is 23 years old and single. A was born in town, reared in the country and returned to Salisbury after finishing primary school. He started working in a store as a shopand four years ago and earns \$7,50 per week in the same job today. A's father is still working in town and until a year ago, A was living at his parents' home in Harare. He then decided to move to the near-by hostels in order to gain independence and try to do without the assistance of his parents. However, if hostels life continues to give him a bad time, A says he may go back to his parents' home. - A has few rural ties: he visited the rural areas on two holiday weekends last year and pays rural council fees. Although he may obtain rights to a plot of land in his home TTL, A claims no interest in working the land. In town, A maintains close kinship ties, but exhibits disinterest in clubs, organizations and beerhalls. He does not belong to a pooling society, because it entails the risk of losing one's money. A does not participate in a pension scheme, but would prefer a pension to cattle at retirement. On weekday evenings A usually has a drink with friends after work, watches television or goes to the cinema. Over weekends he visits relatives in town, watches football or hangs around with friends. If given \$500, A would buy a motorcycle for himself. When A marries, he would like to bring his family to town, because - according to A - marriage means that we are one and must share the joys and sorrows of life together. A cannot see any reasons for staying in town alone when married. If he turns out to be successful, A intends to stay in town until he dies. A considers himself a person of the town, but does not exclude the possibility of having to "go to the rural areas if things heat up in town". His highest aim in life is to secure a better standard of living for himself and his future family.
- * Mr. B of Harare Hostels is 22 years old, single and has received a full primary education. He has lived in the hostels since his arrival in town three years ago. During the same period he has worked as a general labourer for the local authority and earns \$36 per month. B emigrated directly to Salisbury, although he might have followed in his father's footsteps by working in the local urban centre closer to his rural home. If B gets a better job and secures a township house, say in Kambuzuma, he sees no reason why he should leave town. - Last year B visited the rural home over two holiday weekends and took home token gifts of cash each time. B's older brothers are both gainfully employed and therefore B is not expected to contribute towards expenses at home. There is a possibility of B obtaining land rights when he is older, but he admits he is not interested in working the land. B has few kinship or organizational ties in town. He spends most of his leisure time with friends. On weekdays B rests with his roommates or visits friends; over weekends B usually watches football, drinks and listens to the music in the beerhall with friends. If given \$500, B would buy a house in Kambuzuma. B would like to bring his family to live in town when he marries, because - in B's opinion - we cannot all stay in the rural areas, some Africans have to stay in town and I should like to be one of

them. B does not know if he should consider himself a person of the town or country at the present moment, but hopes to become a "full-fledged townfellow" some day. B's life goal is to buy a house in town, marry and achieve a higher standard of living.

Hostels: low urban commitment/involvement

- * Mr. C of Harare Hostels is 39 years old and has received a primary education. He has been married by traditional rites for 13 years and has five children. C's chief aim in life is to educate his children. Eighteen years ago C found his first job at the local urban centre in a shoe factory, where he worked for three years before coming to Salisbury. C has worked as a general labourer in the same firm on and off ever since arrival in Salisbury and currently earns \$10 per week. C has returned to the rural home four times during his Salisbury sojourn. Being the only son in the family, the responsibility for attending to the fields at home was passed on to him after his father's death. According to C, he has only been able to keep his job with this manufacturing firm, because he is the best man on the particular job. C intends to stay in town until his children are grown up and can fend for themselves. C's wife does not visit him in town; instead C visits his family at the rural home every fortnight, taking 5 or 6 dollars and consumer goods with him when he goes. C possesses land rights and four head of cattle and has built a house for his family in the tribal area. In town C shares a room in the hostels with kinsmen. He prefers to drink at the beerhall with people from home or friends. C does not believe in the teachings of the church and has no organizational ties in town apart from membership in a pooling society, which helps him to save funds for travelling and remittances. On weekday evenings C rests with his roommate-relatives after work; over weekends he drinks or goes home to his family. If given \$500, C would buy cattle and clothes for his family. Whilst working in town, C has always lived in hostels. He would not consider bringing his family to town to be with him, because he has property to look after at home. C regards himself as a person of the country and would prefer cattle to pension at retirement.
- * Mr. D of Harare Hostels is approximately 50 years old and has received two years of schooling. D has been married by traditional rites for 21 years and has nine children. D worked on a farm near his tribal home area before coming to town 20 years ago. In Salisbury D has had two jobs as a labourer with the municipality and now earns \$14 per week as a messenger in his present job, which he has held for the past six years. After saving some money in his first two jobs, D thought it to his advantage to return to the rural home for 3 and 1 years respectively. D will stay in town as long as he is employed, but does not intend to bring his family to town, because living in town is becoming more and more expensive and "more than he can manage". D goes home every weekend and takes money with him for his family according to necessity - on average \$5. D possesses land rights and 11 head of

cattle at home, and has built a house for his family there. In town, D seldom visits urban kin and drinks with friends with whom he spends most of his leisure time during the week. As regards organizational ties, D says he has no time to waste by going to church, but he pools with workmates and contributes to a pension scheme. On weekdays D usually rests or drinks, and over weekends he goes home to his family. If he were given \$500, D would buy agricultural implements, such as a cultivator or a cart, and cattle. Before coming to live in the hostels five years ago, D rented a house for seven years in one of the older parts of Harare, which was later demolished to make room for an urban renewal project. Above all, D wants to improve his rural home in every possible way and also desires to educate his last born child to the highest possible level.

Mufakose: high urban commitment/involvement

- * Mr. E of Mufakose Township has resided in his electrified, four-roomed core area house for 11 years and during that period he has repainted some rooms and installed picture rails and curtain fixtures. E's household includes his wife, two of his own children and a relative's child. His third child is away at boarding school. E is 39 years old and has been married by christian rites for 17 years. He and his wife have received a primary school education and both are employed as salesworkers. E claims to earn \$97 per month. E went to school in the rural areas and came to town when he was about 20 years of age. He worked in two stores before finding his present better paid job, which he has held for the past 16 years. Above all, E would like to own a motor car and a grocery store. He would prefer pension to cattle at retirement, because "money can buy anything". E feels he can only enjoy town life as long as he is working, and therefore considers himself a person of the country. E intends to stay in town for approximately 20 years to come. He would prefer to live with his family permanently in the rural areas because there is no security of jobs and tenure in town. However, if he were given a choice, E would opt to move into the Highfield or Kambuzuma home-ownership scheme. E suggests that a home-ownership scheme be introduced into Mufakose and names several improvements which could be effected in Mufakose including detached housing, an adequate bus service, additional shopping outlets and secondary school places. E has visions of retiring in town and operating his own business, which together with his insurance and pension would secure his income in old age. However, if E were to lose his job, he and his family would return to the rural areas. E maintains loose ties with his rural home. He and his wife and children visited the rural home on holiday weekends and leave last year, and his brother keeps six head of cattle for him there. E has not taken any active steps toward securing land rights from his chief with the qualification that "there is no adequate land available". - E owns a radiogram, television, lounge suite and electric stove. His leisure activities consist chiefly of reading the newspaper, watching television, listening to the radio and attending church. Weekend activities include spectator sports as well. E feels he is limited in his leisure activities because he does not own a motor car. Both he and his wife are members of the Roman Catholic Church, and the credit union and burial society attached to it.

- * Mr. F of Mufakose Township has recently moved from a smaller house to his present five-roomed, electrified house in the core area, where he lives with his wife and five children. The sixth child is at boarding school. F is 45 years old and both he and his wife have received a full primary education. They have been married for 17 years by christian rites. F's principal aim in life is to educate his children. F earns \$20 per week as a laboratory assistant at a local college and his wife does not work. F was educated at a mission school in the country and worked in a smaller urban centre before coming to Salisbury. F worked for three years as a clerk before graduating to his present job, which he has held for 18 years. Before coming to Mufakose Township at the time of its establishment, F was accommodated first in bachelor and later in married quarters at his place of work. Given a choice, F would prefer to move to the exclusive Marimba Park, where "the living is good and there is no overcrowding". F would like to see Mufakose converted into a home-ownership township, and suggests improvements to Mufakose houses such as unlimited electricity supply and separate cubicles for shower and toilet. F intends to stay in town with his family until he retires in approximately 17 years time. After retirement F would like to buy a plot in a purchase area where there is no noise. In retirement F plans to live off his life savings, pension and insurance scheme to which he contributes regularly. Last year F's wife did not visit the rural areas and he himself only went home for a few days on the occasion of his uncle's death. F usually sends three dollars home to his mother three or four times a year. Although F has land rights in the tribal area he does not plough. - F owns a radiogram, lounge suite, refrigerator, electric stove and two bicycles in town. When he gets home from work on weekdays, he normally rests in the evenings, Saturdays he goes to the beerhall, and on Sundays he meets with his credit union. Besides being a member of this savings club, F is a regular churchgoer, a member of the Catholic Burial Society, the African National Council (ANC), and a touring group, and he holds offices in two of these organizations. His ANC membership is most important to him, because, as F maintains, the ANC fights for his rights. F's wife also belongs to several clubs in town. F identifies himself with town "as long as he is in town".

Mufakose: low urban commitment/involvement

- * Mr. G of Mufakose Township is approximately 45 years old, and has been traditionally married for over 20 years. He has been blessed with ten children, whom he wishes to educate and look after more than anything else in life. G has received one year of schooling in the rural areas and has lived in Salisbury for most of his adult life. He has held five successive jobs since coming to town in 1946 and has acquired skills in upholstery work at the last three places of work. G interrupted his urban career for six months when his father died. Before moving to Mufakose Township, G participated in the Highfield home-ownership scheme for eight years. Four years ago, G moved to a rented five-roomed unit house in the newer areas of Mufakose, where he and four of his children live today. His wife resides in the country and

occasionally visits town. G has no residential mobility aspirations, but would welcome more shopping outlets and a better bus service in Mufakose. G states, that his life belongs to the tribal home, which is his place of origin. Dependent upon his health, he may remain in town for ten years or perhaps longer, when he will return to his rural home, where he has built a house for his family. He cannot contemplate an urban retirement, because he would be without an adequate source of income. G goes home every weekend to help his wife attend to the fields and takes \$2 with him to purchase foodstuffs. His father looks after his five head of cattle for him. - Apart from the lounge suite, which furnishes his house in town, G claims to have made all his investments in the country. He has no relatives in town and spends most evenings of the week at the beerhall socializing with whomever he happens to meet. G is a member of the upholsterers' trade union. He pools \$8 per week of his \$19 weekly wages to save for rental payments in town and rural council fees. Although G is not eligible for a pension, he would prefer a pension to cattle at retirement, because he could purchase anything he liked - without restrictions.

- * Mr. H of Mufakose Township comes from a family with migration tradition and received five years of schooling in the country in his youth. Since coming to town 11 years ago, he has worked as a labourer for the same employer and currently earns \$14 per week. H is approximately 36 years of age and has been married for 14 years according to traditional rites and has four children. Before moving into his four-roomed, electrified house in the core area of Mufakose nine years ago, H lodged for five years in single quarters although he was married at the time. H's wife and children currently reside at the rural home, whilst five kinsmen occupy their places in H's urban household. If given the opportunity, H would like to move back to the township where he formerly resided as a lodger, simply because the township appeals to him. Suggestions for township improvements consist of development of shopping outlets and cessation of "police raids at night". He intends to stay in town for the next 20 years when he will retire to the garden which should provide his livelihood in old age. H has already purchased the wire fencing for his garden. When H visits his home each week, he takes \$8 with him to purchase foodstuffs for his family. His wife and his father attend to his fields and his children look after his eight head of cattle. H possesses a bicycle in town, otherwise he claims to have made all his investments in the rural areas. Apart from membership in a pension scheme at his place of work, H has no organizational ties in town. On weekdays he comes home tired after work and rests. Otherwise, he depends on a friend for leisure time and drinking companionship in town. H's goal in life is to own 20 head of cattle and he would also prefer cattle to pension at retirement, because they "work for him". H considers himself a person of the country: he has "only come to town to look for money".

Kambuzuma: high urban commitment/involvement

- * Mr. I of Kambuzuma Township was born and educated in town. He is 34 years old and has achieved A-level standard of post-primary education. After working nine years as a salesman with a large tobacco company, he switched to his present job for better pay. As a sales representative

he now earns \$200 per month. His wife is a trained nurse and currently employed as such. I has been married for seven years by traditional rites and has two children. His urban household consists of himself, his wife and two children, and a nanny. I moved straight from his parents' rented home in Harare Township to his Kambuzuma residence when he married. Since coming to Kambuzuma seven years ago, he has fully extended his house and installed an unlimited electricity supply. I regards himself as a person of the town and would ultimately like to end up in a more comfortable township like Marimba Park. He aspires to residential mobility chiefly because he considers the Kambuzuma stands too small. I intends to remain in town permanently, because he has never lived in the country and has no links to a tribal area, though he indicates a district in one of the remoter areas of the country as his place of origin. When I retires in approximately 25 years time, he would like to run a small retail store. I maintains close links with his urban kin and relies on friends for leisure company. His urban home boasts a radiogram, television set, lounge suite, refrigerator, electric stove and a geyser. I also owns a motor car. On weekdays I watches television for relaxation, over weekends he frequently goes to the "pub", although he would prefer to visit places of interest. Apart from membership in a pension and insurance scheme, I makes no references to organizational affiliations.

- * Mr. J of Kambuzuma Township is 39 years old and has received most of his primary and secondary education up to A-level standard in a small town. J's father was working in town when J was a child. After finishing school J found his first job as a general labourer in a shoe factory in a larger urban centre. He then came to Salisbury, where he found various jobs as a domestic servant, gardener newspaper vendor, teacher and clerk; the last position he held for nine years. Meanwhile he qualified as a bookkeeper and has been employed as an assistant accountant with a current salary of \$180 per month for the past two years. J has been married for 12 years by christian rites and has three children. J's urban household consists of himself, his wife and children. His wife, who has received a full primary education, is employed in town as a dressmaker in a clothing firm. All three children are away at boarding school during term time. - During his Salisbury sojourn, J has variously been accommodated at his place of work as a bachelor and later in lodger's quarters - albeit with his family - for the first half of his married life. For the past six years, J has been residing in one of the less established sections of Kambuzuma Township, and during this period has fully extended his house and installed an unlimited supply of electricity. If he were given free choice J would prefer to reside at Marimba Park, where the stands are larger and it is very quiet. J considers himself a person of the town and intends to remain in town forever. Town offers a better life, learning facilities and property ownership such as found in the Kambuzuma home-ownership scheme. After retiring, J hopes to remain in his urban home and enjoy the money he is now earning. He is at present investing in a pension and insurance scheme to make certain he can live comfortably in old age. J has no stake in the rural areas and both he and his wife go visiting in the country only occasionally. In the past year, J went

visiting approximately every other month and his wife went twice on her own. J remits sums of approximately ten dollars to support his parents whenever needed. Consumer items owned by J include a radio-gram, sewing machine, television set, lounge suite, refrigerator and electric stove. J attends church irregularly and is a member of his professional association. He often comes together with his kinsmen in town; otherwise he keeps his own company, for he spends most of his leisure time studying and does not drink. J's present goal in life is to qualify for a higher degree in the commercial arts.

Kambuzuma: low urban commitment/involvement

- * Mr. K of Kambuzuma Township is 45 years old and was born in the country. He went to school for four years and worked in two smaller centres as a shop assistant on his way to Salisbury, where he again found a job in a department store. For the past ten years K has been employed as a driver/messenger and today earns \$90 per month. K has been married to his wife for 21 years according to traditional rites and has seven children. Some of the children are attending boarding school out of town. K's Kambuzuma home accommodates his wife, three of his children and two lodgers. K has fully extended his house since coming to the newest section of Kambuzuma ten years ago. Before this time K rented family accommodation in an older municipal township. K is satisfied with living in Kambuzuma but suggests that more bus stops be provided for residents. K would prefer to live permanently with his family in the rural areas, where the people are more friendly and helpful. He only intends to stay in town until he retires in approximately 15 years time. K would not consider staying on in Salisbury after retirement, because he does not approve of people's mode of behaviour in town. If K were to lose his urban employment, he would stay in town, but his family would go home to the tribal areas. K's wife usually returns to the rural home during the agricultural season, but last year she spent the whole year there in order to supervise the building of their new house. While in the country K's wife also attends to his fields and 15 head of cattle. In the past year K visited the rural home over holiday weekends. He remits \$10 every month to support his wife and children. In town K maintains close ties with relatives, with whom he visits over weekends. If he does not decide to stay home and listen to the radio, K usually associates with friends when he goes for a drink at the "pub". K likes football and is a member of the amateur football league. He seldom goes to church and does not contribute to a pension scheme. K's urban possessions include a radio, a lounge suite and a bicycle. At retirement K would prefer cattle to pension, because cattle can be used for multiple purposes in the rural areas. K considers himself a country man at heart, but necessity has made him a person of the town. His chief aim in life is to achieve reasonable security in retirement.
- * Mr. L of Kambuzuma Township is 43 years old and has received seven years of education in the rural areas. He came to Salisbury at age 18 years and worked for several years, first as a shop assistant, and then as a messenger, before finding employment as a driver. He has kept

this last job for 17 years and today earns approximately \$90 per month. L has been married for 17 years according to traditional rites and has six children. As a bachelor L lodged in Harare Township, as a married man he lodged with his family in a home-ownership house in Highfield Township, before occupying his own home in Kambuzuma. During his ten years' residence in Kambuzuma Township, L has fully extended his house, which today accommodates himself, and his brother, his brother's wife and their two children. L is satisfied to live in Kambuzuma, but suggests that township roads be tarred. If he had his way, L would prefer to reside permanently with his family in the rural areas, where he can keep cattle and chickens and there is space between houses. L intends to stay in town as long as he is still working. He will work until he is 65 and has not made any plans beyond this age. If he lost his present employment, L would stay in town, but his family would go home to the rural areas. L would not consider an urban retirement, because country life is freer and less expensive. L takes \$10 with him to support his family living at the rural home when he visits them each weekend. His wife comes to town during the school holidays. L has built a house in the rural areas and his wife looks after his fields and four head of cattle. - In town, L seldom contacts his urban kin. He owns a sewing machine, a lounge suite and a motor car. On weekday evenings, L gardens and visits friends with like interests. L goes to church irregularly, is a trade union member and contributes to a pension scheme. He also pools with workmates which enables him to purchase consumer articles. Although - according to L - most of his investments have been made in town to date, L considers himself a person of the country. He would prefer cattle to pension at retirement, because cattle multiply rapidly and money bears little interest. L's principal goal in life is to purchase more cattle.

Summary: A principal component analysis is applied to 1975 Hostels, Mufakose and Kambuzuma variables and one factor is extracted for each sample. The 1975 Hostels principal component with heavy loadings on life-cycle determined items is labelled 'stabilization' factor. The 1975 Mufakose and Kambuzuma principal components with heavy loadings on urban commitment/involvement items and rural contacts/investments items are referred to as 'urban commitment/involvement' factors. It is indicated that an urban commitment/involvement scale can be constructed by using items with heavy loadings on the townships principal component factors. Assessment of the strength of such a scale is left to the judgement of the reader when reviewing case histories of migrants and townsmen selected on the basis of their principal component scores.

CHAPTER 20.SUMMARY.

When studying migration and urbanization phenomena several theoretical approaches offer themselves as explanatory devices. Variations of push-pull theory (Mitchell 1969a; Wilson 1972a, b), network analysis (Mayer 1962), life-cycle theory (Rossi 1955), decision modelling (Garbett 1975), and structural tension theory (Heintz 1972; Hoffmann-Nowotny 1973) might prove equally useful as working tools. In this study it is demonstrated that theoretical elements contained in all these approaches are logically compatible, but that the abstract mechanisms incorporated in a macrosociological theory of societal systems (Heintz 1972) are most comprehensive and powerful. When applied to the specific problems of migration and urbanization as a conceptual system, these mechanisms adequately explain the intricate balance achieved by migrant labour between oscillation and stabilization.

Of particular importance to this study is the fact that universal mechanisms relating to urbanization and migration are severely curtailed by the specific contextual conditions which hold in African rural/urban societal units. In what are commonly referred to as B type African towns (Southall 1961), the operation of universal urbanization mechanisms is rendered invalid in that access to further societal goods is directly related to the initial acquisition of an urban status position. The exploration of the instrumental role of residential status in achieving access to central resources in African urban society is one of the chief aims of this study.

Comparative surveys conducted among representatives of three urban tenure groups in Salisbury African residential areas during the 1973-75 period disclose that socio-economic status increases progressively with the differential tenure levels of 'single hostels' accommodation, 'rented family' accommodation, and 'purchase family' accommodation. The analysis of survey results reveals that mechanisms pertaining to the migration and urbanization process are generally valid, but that varying tenure conditions exert an influence on their effectiveness. Substantive evidence is offered in support of the proposition that increasing urban security provided by socio-economic and tenure status is associated with a higher urban commitment and more active involvement in urban life. At the level of the individual, maximum urban security is conducive to permanent stabilization in town. It is demonstrated that socio-economic status tends to take precedence over tenure status and dominates over any other advantages an in-migrant may possess by way of ascribed status positions. Moreover, the relevance of the socio-economic status position for urban commitment is systematically increased with rising tenure status.

The widespread notion that family stabilization in town is essentially a question of income status is variously confirmed by study findings. Lagging residential status can invariably be traced back to financial difficulties. In low income families on the rented and purchase tenure levels, there are indications that scarce urban accommodation space

is utilized to supplement the family income rather than to house members of the immediate family, and that purchase housing is regarded as an investment rather than a security asset. Even if income factors may be intimately involved, satisfactory residential status may be particularly conducive to keeping the families of urban workers united in town. An adequate income coupled with a satisfactory residential status is also found to play a vital part in preventing urban absence and concomitant career interruption under adverse circumstances.

Minimal tenure mobility is normally called for in the course of an urban career, if urban dwellers are to maintain a satisfactory residential status conducive to stabilization. A typical residential mobility pattern consistent with life-cycle theory is proposed for Salisbury conditions and empirically verified. It can be shown that the desire for security of tenure is frequently the chief motivating factor behind actual or aspired residential mobility. Absence of the requisite residential mobility or unsuccessful attempts at adjusting residential status to changing life circumstances may impair future urban commitment and identification, and persons thus affected may resort to rural tension resolving mechanisms.

As mentioned above, stabilization and urban commitment tend to increase systematically with rising tenure and socio-economic status. By contrast with findings of earlier migration studies, temporary stabilization during a working lifetime is the norm for *all* urban workers responding to the present survey *inclusive* migrant labour. Despite prevailing quasi-stabilization conditions in the study context, which limit permanent residence to the duration of a working lifetime, signs of permanent commitment are emergent among members of the highest tenure/socio-economic groups. There are also indications that the urbanization process operates on a generation basis, which explains why factors referring to an urban background rather than to the relative duration of urban exposure in an individual lifetime, may be more predictive of urban commitment than conventional stabilization measures.

Urban involvement in terms of personal/organizational ties and investments appears to be instrumental to a rise in urban status, which in turn is conducive to urban commitment. In the present survey, urban consumption behaviour proves to be an excellent indicator of urban commitment at all tenure levels. Higher urban status individuals are generally more involved in urban organizational life and less restricted to the kinship network in their personal affiliations than lower status individuals. Higher urban status is also closely related to the expression of urban attitudes. Survey results imply that church and kinship ties may promote higher social mobility and bring relief from rural dependence at the affective-emotional level. There are signs that urban investments - as well as exemption from rural investments - may intensify further urban involvement of this kind and legitimize demands for increased security of tenure in town. The desire for urban retirement and home ownership participation on the part of higher tenure status individuals must be interpreted in connection with their urban investment behaviour.

The well documented claim that the retention of rural ties by urban dwellers is the most distinctive characteristic of African urbanization is given support by the present study of the Salisbury situation: urban involvement does not necessarily exclude rural involvement here. Distance from the rural home to the urban centre and ease of communication may indeed facilitate dual involvement in town and country, which is most evident at the intermediate tenure level. Involvement at the lower tenure level tends to lean toward the rural pole and signs of the 'encapsulation' phenomenon are detected. Consonant with their higher urban commitment, the involvement of higher tenure individuals points toward the urban pole. The possibility is therefore close at hand that *dual* involvement of intermediate tenure individuals may be replaced by their more active *urban* involvement when quasi-stabilization conditions are lifted.

According to our survey results rural ties in the form of visits, remittances and investments are systematically relaxed with rising urban security. Rural contacts which guarantee future social security benefits at the rural pole are considered vital to in-migrants with temporary stabilization intentions, and ample evidence is provided that visiting frequency is inversely related to urban commitment. This empirical regularity is chiefly accounted for by the family separation involved in safeguarding rural social security benefits. Although contacts with the home in the rural area essentially compensate for an inadequate urban status, the home-visiting mechanism must nevertheless be regarded as a factor conducive to stabilization and urban social mobility, in that it is compatible with continuous urban employment. Survey findings reveal that only a security increase referring to an equilibrated tenure and economic status constellation is effective in reducing the relevance of the home-visiting mechanism for the individual in-migrant.

When urban security in terms of satisfactory economic status and residential status cannot be obtained, there is empirical evidence that rural dependence is resorted to and efforts are made to maintain or actively improve the rural status. Family separation, rural contacts and investments are the chief mechanisms whereby rural status betterment is achieved. A rise in economic status at the urban pole may be transferred to the respective status at the rural pole. Nevertheless, there are indications that population pressure in the rural context may effectively set limits to the extent with which the rural dependence mechanisms can resolve urban status tension. Furthermore, survey responses intimate that rural dependence is becoming less acceptable as a viable solution to the tension caused among members of higher socio-economic groups by the inaccessibility of central urban status dimensions. With the emergence of younger generations of urban Africans occupying various tenure levels who are more committed to and involved in urban life, and are possibly better equipped to meet its exigencies than preceding generations, there is every reason to believe that claims to a greater stake in town will be more insistent in future.

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A P P E N D I C E S

APPENDIX A.FIELDWORK AND METHODOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF SURVEY WORK.1973 Hostels Survey.

The fieldwork was carried out during January to June 1973 by a team of six fieldworkers specially trained for the job. Interviews were conducted in the vernacular and answers recorded in English in a questionnaire type schedule. A systematic sample of 478 was drawn from the entire Harare Hostel dwelling population estimated at approximately 24 000 at the time. The sample was obtained by choosing every fiftieth bed yielding a sample fraction of 2 per cent. The occupant of the bed was regarded as the formal occupant regardless of actual rights to occupancy. A return of 82 per cent or 392 interviews was regarded as satisfactory considering the high turnover of Hostel occupants. Absence accounted for 13 per cent, refusal for 4,6 per cent of the non-return. Most successful interviews were conducted on the initial or second contact visit. At least seven or more such visits were made if necessary. Interviews lasted approximately three-quarters of an hour to an hour. Representativeness of the sample was difficult to assess, but the percentage foreigners compared satisfactorily with administration statistics, and distributions on social background parameters appeared to be reliable.

1973/74 Mufakose Survey.

The fieldwork in Mufakose commenced in August 1973 and continued until February 1974, when the remainder of the respondents were traced. The questionnaire type schedule was administered by a team of six trained fieldworkers in the vernacular, responses being recorded in English. The workload of interviewers was evenly distributed over core (A, ..F) and new (G, H, J, Y, X) Areas in Mufakose to eliminate interviewer bias. A 5 per cent systematic sample was drawn from the entire population of registered households resulting in a sample of 325 households. In 272 or 83.4 per cent a complete interview was obtained from the principle respondent. Except in 3 cases, where the son, a relative and a caretaker respectively were interviewed, the principle respondent was the male head of household. Non-return (16,6% of drawn sample) was caused chiefly by prolonged absence (7%) and refusal (9%). The majority of successful interviews were conducted on the first to the third visit to contact addresses, but up to ten visits were made if necessary. Interviews usually lasted three-quarters of an hour to an hour. Representativeness of the sample was checked by comparing the drawn with the effective sample distribution over Mufakose Areas. The table below shows that there is a tendency for the newer Areas to be under-represented in the sample. The difference between the order of representation in the drawn and effective sample is however not significant when tested with Spearman's rank correlation coefficient ($r_s = ,99$).

Mufakose Survey 1973/74		
Mufakose Area	Drawn sample	Effective sample (full response)
H	51	38
J	47	42
Y	38	35
G	32	31
X	31	25
D	25	24
E	24	17
C	21	17
F	21	20
B	19	13
A	17	10
	326	272

1975 Hostels, Mufakose and Kambuzuma Survey.

The fieldwork was conducted during the months of January and February 1975 in Harare Hostels and during the months of January through April in Mufakose and Kambuzuma. The original sample frame employed in 1973 was used to draw the Hostels 1975 sample. The newest additions to the Hostels, which incorporate bungalow type accommodation in an enclosure, were therefore not included in the sample frame. Likewise in Mufakose, houses built since the 1973/74 survey period in the Area G South, which was still under construction at the time of the 1975 fieldwork, were not included in the 1975 Mufakose sample frame. The housing development in Kambuzuma has been static for some time, so similar problems of delineation did not arise there. These limitations were made for practical purposes and also ensured closer comparability of results of the 1975 survey with data collected in the Hostels 1973 and Mufakose 1973/74 surveys.

A questionnaire type schedule was completed for each respondent. The interview was conducted in the vernacular unless the respondent felt more at ease when responding in English. If possible the respondent was interviewed alone. Information pertaining to the respondent's family was gained from the respondent himself. The fieldworkers were instructed not to engage in any discussion with the respondent which might be relevant to interview topics until after all answers had been recorded. A team of two to four fieldworkers were posted in each of the three survey Townships during the respective survey periods. Assignments within each Township sample were for the greater part chosen on a random basis; thus interviewer bias was eliminated to some extent. Questionnaire schedules were coded on an item basis with Mufakose and Kambuzuma schedules interspersed in order to eliminate coder bias. Interviews usually lasted one to two hours.

Sample respondents were selected who could be expected to make up the typical Hostel or Township population in the given circumstances. The local policy of providing accommodation for urban workers in single and married conditions was taken as a basis for the population definition. Only one person per dwelling unit, the male household head, was entered into the sampling frame. Eligibility for inclusion in the sample were the following characteristics:

- 1) Authorised tenant or occupier of dwelling premise* excluding official caretakers,
- 2) Male,
- 3) Married status in Townships,
- 4) Rhodesian nationality.

* Consistent with urban social survey tradition in Africa, the Hostels 1973 and the Mufakose 1973/74 survey focussed on the *actual* occupiers of urban accommodation units.

In the Hostels married and single men were interviewed, both types of marital status being equally typical of men living in single conditions in hostels. During the subsequent analysis the extraction of married hostel dwellers proved necessary for some items.

Foreign born persons were excluded in the effective sample. Whenever possible, elimination was achieved before entering the field in order to save time and embarrassment to fieldworkers. According to the adopted definition of Rhodesian nationality, a few second generation foreigners (those born in Rhodesia of foreign parents) are represented in the sample.

Three lists of random numbers generated by a standard computer programme were used to select a corresponding hostel bed or township dwelling unit. Replacements were chosen at the end of each respective list until the desired number of 150 completed interviews for the three samples respectively was achieved. The composition of the drawn and effective sample is shown in the table below. The Townships drawn samples are larger than the Hostels one, because a greater number of foreigners had to be eliminated. In the Kambuzuma sample frame, numbers referring to non-dwelling units were included and had to be replaced whenever encountered in the random number list. The percentages of foreign respondents and single or female persons chosen compared favourably with official records, with the exception of the Hostels sample. The chief sources of sample bias are contained in the categories of temporary absences and non-responses. Percentages in these categories are considered sufficiently low under the prevailing circumstances. It is difficult to ascertain, how representative the effective sample is of the Rhodesian target population, as there are no statistics available for comparison. Comparison of the Hostels and Mufakose 1975 samples with the Rhodesian segments in the Hostels 1973 and the Mufakose 1973/74 samples respectively showed that the distribution on some background and residential parameters are similar. Moreover, it will be noted that in the 1975 study, the chief emphasis lies on comparative and multivariate analysis, so that the question of representativeness is only secondary.

1975 Sample composition: drawn and effective sample

Respondents are authorised male household heads in Townships and authorised occupiers of beds in Harare Hostels.

Elimination of types of drawn sample numbers pertaining to	d r a w n s a m p l e n u m b e r s								
	Hostels			Mufakose			Kambuzuma		
	a	in		a	in		a	in	
	priori	field	total	priori	field	total	priori	field	total
<u>A duplicate random numbers</u>			-	1	4	5		2	2
<u>B foreign persons</u>	3	3*	83	5	88*	17	15	32*	15,5%
		1,8%			33,7%				
<u>C single or female persons</u>		n/a	3	1	4		2	2*	1,0%
					1,5				
<u>D structural absences</u>									
random numbers relate to vacated rooms/houses or shops	3	3	1		1	6	1	7	
<u>E temporary absences</u>									
persons absent during survey period	3	4+		12	12+		10	10+	5,8%
		2,4%			7,1%				
<u>F non-responses</u>									
persons refuse to be interviewed or give incomplete information	10	10+		7	7+		13	13+	7,5%
		6,1%			4,1%				
<u>G RESPONSE = effective sample</u>			150			150			150
total = A+B+C+D+E+F+G = drawn sample			170			267			216
* total population base (total minus (A+D))			167			261			207

Continued

1975 Sample composition: drawn and effective sample Continued

Elimination of types of drawn sample numbers pertaining to	d r a w n s a m p l e n u m b e r s								
	Hostels			Mufakose			Kambuzuma		
	a	in	total	a	in	total	a	in	total
Rhodesian population base (total minus (A+B+D))			164			173			175
+ Rhodesian target population base (total minus (A+B+C+D))			164			169			173

APPENDIX B.1973 HOSTELS MULTIVARIATE ANALYSIS.Contents:

- Legend to substantive cross-tabulation tables
- Description of variables
- Cell values of cross-tabulations between significantly related variables.

Legend to substantive cross-tabulation tables

- 1) The sample refers to 388 of the 392 respondents to a survey conducted among hostel dwellers in Harare African Township, Salisbury in 1973, for whom sufficient data pertaining to variables included in the multivariate analysis were available.
- 2) Variables included in the analysis are identified by numbers i.e. 2, ... 62.
- 3) Categories distinguished in the variable distributions are designated 1, 2, 3 and are described below. In ordinal distributions category 1 usually refers to a low value on the particular variable or to a response inferring lower 'urbanization' or 'urbanism', category 2 a medium, and category 3 a high value respectively. In nominal distributions categories 1, 2, 3 designate unrelated value classes.
- 4) Cutting points between categories are chosen arbitrarily to divide sample distribution into two or three numerically equal groups. Where this is not possible, the cutting points merely divide what are regarded as meaningful categories of responses.
- 5) Cross-tabulations between the following variables have been executed: 2 (AGE) by 3, ... 62; 3 (ORIGIN) by 4, ... 62; 4 (URBGEN) by 3, ... 62; 5 (OCC) by 3, ... 62; 6 (EDUCST) by 3, ... 62; 7 (MARRST) by 3, ... 62; 8 (MARRTYPE) by 3, ... 62; 9 (INCOME) by 3, ... 62; 13 (STAB) by 9, ... 62; 14 (HOSRES) by 44, ... 62; 15 (JOB) by 16, ... 20; 16 (YEARJOB) by 17, ... 20; 17 (HOVISIT) by 18, ... 20; 18 (DECIND) by 17, ... 20; 19 (LRV) by 17, ... 20; 20 (RLRV) by 17, ... 19; 21 (REMITFR) by 37, ... 62; 22 (REMITVAL) by 21; 23 (VISITFAM) by 37, ... 62; 24 (TERMINUS) by 21; 25 (HOLIDAY) by 58, ... 62; 26 (LEAVE) by 58, ... 62.
- 6) Only cross-tabulations between significantly related variables are listed below.
- 7) In the cross-tabulation table X x Y, the distribution on variable X is horizontally arranged, the distribution on variable Y vertically arranged. Only cell values are shown. Chi square values are shown immediately above CC values in the pertinent columns.

- 8) A chi square test has been applied to all cross-tabulated distributions. According to Siegel (1956:110), the chi square test may not be meaningfully applied where 20 per cent or more of the cells have an expected frequency of less than 5 and one or more of the cells have an expected frequency of less than 1. The formula used for chi square is:

$$\chi^2 = \sum_{i=1}^r \sum_{j=1}^k \frac{(O_{ij} - E_{ij})^2}{E_{ij}}$$

where O_{ij} = observed number of classes categorized in i th row of j th column; E_{ij} = number of cases expected under H_0 to be categorized in i th row of j th column (Siegel 1956:175).

- 9) The correlation is expressed by a contingency coefficient CC . When variables show complete independence the value of CC takes on a zero value. Complete dependence or perfect correlation is indicated by higher values, the upper limit being determined by the number of categories. According to Siegel (1956:201) the upper limit for a 2 by 2 category table is $CC = .707$, the maximum value of CC in a 3 by 3 table is $.816$. Contingency coefficients are only comparable where they are yielded by contingency tables of the same size. The formula for the contingency coefficient is:

$$CC = \sqrt{\frac{\chi^2}{N + \chi^2}} \quad (\text{Siegel 1956:198}).$$

- 10) The null hypothesis that there is no significant relationship between the variables concerned is rejected, when a probability of .01 is associated with the occurrence of a chi square value as large or larger than:

6,64 with 1 d.f. (2 by 2 table)
 9,21 with 2 d.f. (2 by 3 table)
 13,28 with 4 d.f. (3 by 3 table) (Siegel 1956:249, Table C).

Reference:

Siegel, Sidney, 1956, *Nonparametric Statistics for the Behavioural Sciences*, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co.

Description of 1973 Hostels variables included in multivariate analysis

<u>Identification and categorization:</u>	<u>N = 388</u>	<u>distribution</u>
<u>2 AGE</u>		
1 -24 years		139
2 25-34 years		156
3 35+ years		91
		<u>386</u>
<u>3 ORIGIN</u>		
Distance of place of origin from Salisbury.		
1 -160 miles approximately		97
2 161-320 miles approximately		158
3 320+ miles approximately		101
		<u>356</u>
<u>4 URBAN GENERATION URBGEN</u>		
1 first born in rural area		374
2 second+ born in town		14
		<u>388</u>
<u>5 OCCUPATION OCC</u>		
1 craftsmen, production process workers, labourers		276
2 sales, service, transport workers		84
3 clerical workers, professionals		10
		<u>370</u>
0 (workers in agriculture, quarrying are excluded as non-urban workers)		
<u>6 EDUCATIONAL STANDARD EDUCST</u>		
1 no schooling - Std. 3/Grd. 5		114
2 Std. 4/Grd. 6 - Std. 6/Grd. 7		230
3 Form 1/Junior Certificate and higher		44
		<u>388</u>
<u>7 MARITAL STATUS MARRST</u>		
1 single		165
2 married		223
		<u>388</u>
<u>8 MARRIAGE TYPE MARRTYPE</u>		
1 traditional marriage		148
2 christian or registered marriage		71
		<u>219</u>
0 unmarried respondents		
<u>9 INCOME</u>		
1 -\$29,9		123
2 \$30,0-\$34,0		104
3 \$34,1+		144
		<u>371</u>

1973 Hostels Study Continued10 MARRIAGE DURATION MARRDUR

Total years married.

1	- 4 years	96
2	5-14 years	85
3	15+ years	32
		<u>213</u>

0 unmarried respondents

11 CHILDREN

Total number children.

1	-3	159
2	4-6	42
3	7+	17
		<u>218</u>

0 unmarried respondents

12 URBAN EXPERIENCE URBEXP

Years spent in town over 15 years of age.

1	-7 years	220
2	8+ years	167
		<u>387</u>

13 STABILIZATION STAB

Years spent in town over 15 years of age multiplied by 100 and divided by age minus 15 years. Index varies from 0 to 100.

1	-58,0	166
2	58,0+	219
		<u>385</u>

14 HOSTEL RESIDENCE HOSRES

Years spent in a hostel.

1	-2 years	202
2	3-9 years	151
3	10+ years	34
		<u>387</u>

15 NUMBER JOBS JOB

Number of jobs held with different employers since arrival in town.

1	1 job	147
2	2 jobs	103
3	3+ jobs	127
		<u>377</u>

16 YEAR OF FIRST JOB YEARJOB

Length of employment in town measured by date of first job.

1	recent urban employment	first job in 1969-1973	142
2	medium urban employment	first job in 1964-1968	104
3	long urban employment	first job in 1963 or earlier	128
			<u>374</u>

1973 Hostels Study Continued17 HOME VISITS HOVISIT

Number of visits to the rural home after loss of employment.

1	0 visits	52
2	1 visit	94
3	2+ visits	90
		<u>236</u>

0 respondents still in first urban employment

18 DECIMAL INDEX DECIND

Actual number home visits after loss of job divided by total years spent in urban employment. Index varies from 0,00 - 1,00.

1	0,00-0,14	118
2	0,15-1,00	118
		<u>236</u>

0 respondents still in first urban employment

19 LONGEST RURAL VISIT LRV

Longest visit to the rural home since arrival in town.

1	0 - 4 weeks	under 4 weeks	231
2	5 -52 weeks	4 weeks to 1 year	115
3	53+ weeks	over 1 year	34
			<u>380</u>

20 REASON FOR LONGEST RURAL VISIT RLRV

1	Leave or family visit	198
2	out of employment	130
3	business or family affairs, other reasons	36
		<u>364</u>

21 REMITTANCE FREQUENCY REMITFR

Remittances sent or taken to the rural home.

1	no remittances	45	
2	irregular remittances	(bimonthly or less frequent)	98
3	regular remittances	(monthly to weekly)	235
			<u>378</u>

22 REMITTANCE VALUE REMITVAL

Average value of remittance.

1	\$ 0,1-4,9	87
2	\$ 5,0-9,9	90
3	\$10,0+	149
		<u>326</u>

0 no remittances

23 VISITING FAMILY VISITFAM

Number of relatives who visit respondent in town.

1	0 relatives	167
2	1-2 relatives	105
3	3+ relatives	110
		<u>382</u>

1973 Hostels Study Continued24 TERMINUS VISIT TERMINUS

Habit of visiting the Musika bus terminus.

1	no	
2	yes	147
		<u>235</u>
		382

25 HOLIDAY VISIT HOLIDAY

Visit to rural home at holiday time in previous year.

1	no holiday visit	
2	1 or more holiday visits	58
		<u>326</u>
		384

26 LEAVE VISIT LEAVE

Visit to rural home during annual leave in previous year.

1	no leave visit	
2	leave visit	155
		<u>229</u>
		384

FAMILY RELIANCE

Agent on whom one would rely in 10 need situations below.

1	reliance on agent outside family		
2	family or kin reliance		
27	EDUCATION	FR1	1 2
28	JOBS	FR2	185 179 364
29	CASH	FR3	314 50 364
30	PROPERTY SAFEGUARDING	FR4	264 100 364
31	RENT	FR5	176 188 364
32	FINES	FR6	241 123 364
33	UNEMPLOYMENT	FR7	172 192 364
34	SICKNESS	FR8	147 216 363
35	CREDIT	FR9	60 304 364
36	CALAMITY	FR10	209 155 364
			89 275 364

37 TOTAL FAMILY RELIANCE TFR

Tendency toward family reliance in need situations.

1	family reliance in five or less need situations	203
2	family reliance in six or more need situations	162
		<u>365</u>

38 RURAL-URBAN PREFERENCE RUPREF

Preference for residence with family in town or rural area.

1	rural area preference	286
2	undecided	14
3	town preference	76
		<u>376</u>

39 LAND RIGHTS LAND

Present right to work a plot of land in rural area.

1	land rights	232
2	no land rights	149
		<u>381</u>

1973 Hostels Study Continued40 HOSTEL/TOWNSHIP PREFERENCE HTPREF

Preference for residing in a hostel or a house in a township.

1	hostel preference	38
2	township preference	342
		<u>380</u>

41 RELATIVES RESIDING IN TOWN RELTOWN

Number of relatives residing in town.

1	0 -4 relatives	267
2	5+ relatives	116
		<u>383</u>

42 CATTLE/PENSION PREFERENCE CPPREF

Preference for cattle or pension at retirement.

1	cattle preference	265
2	pension preference	106
		<u>371</u>

43 SON'S RESIDENCE PREFERENCE SONPREF

Preference for son to reside in town or rural area.

1	rural area preference	268
2	undecided: both or son's choice	56
3	town preference	57
		<u>381</u>

ATTITUDE-BEHAVIOUR SCALE ACCOMMODATION

1	no consensus with majority attitude given below.		
2	consensus with majority attitude given below.	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>
44	ABACC 1 With respect to township dwellers, you yourself believe that it is usually wrong for township dwellers to be given new homes before hostel dwellers.	53	329 382
45	ABACC 2 You agree that most people like you believe that living in a house in the townships gives a man more advantages in town than living in a hostel.	74	308 382
46	ABACC 3 You yourself would feel more secure living in a house in the township than living in a hostel.	75	307 382
47	ABACC 4 Other people believe that hostel dwellers have accommodation, which is worse than the accommodation of township dwellers.	85	297 382
48	ABACC 5 You have seen that living in a house is a better way of life than living in a hostel.	108	274 382
49	ABACC 6 You feel more like sharing the township dwellers' way of life when you see them living in their own houses.	188	194 382

1973 Hostels Study Continued

<u>ATTITUDE-BEHAVIOUR SCALE TOWNSMEN</u>		
1	no consensus with majority attitude given below.	
2	consensus with majority attitude given below.	<u>1 2</u>
50	ABT 1 With respect to township dwellers, you yourself believe that it is usually wrong to expect hostel dwellers' families to be as closely knit as township dwellers' families.	88 294 382
51	ABT 2 You disagree that most people like you believe that men live in hostels because they prefer to keep their families in the rural areas.	103 279 382
52	ABT 3 You have seen that people living with their families in town are more secure than the people living in hostels.	118 264 382
53	ABT 4 You yourself would want to bring your family to town and live here like township dwellers (under certain conditions).	174 208 382
54	ABT 5 You feel satisfied when you see that township dwellers have less supervision from the township authorities.	191 191 382
55	ABT 6 More people believe that hostel dwellers are less often real 'townsmen' than township dwellers.	195 187 382
<u>56 ATTITUDE-BEHAVIOUR SCALE ACCOMMODATION ABACC</u>		
1	consensus with majority attitude on less than 3 items	93
2	consensus with majority attitude on more than 3 items	289
		<u>382</u>
<u>57 ATTITUDE-BEHAVIOUR SCALE TOWNSMEN ABT</u>		
1	consensus with majority attitude on less than 3 items	163
2	consensus with majority attitude on more than 3 items	219
		<u>382</u>
<u>58 VISITING PATTERN PATTERN</u>		
1	no visiting in previous year	37
2	occasional visiting in previous year	188
3	regular visiting in previous year	163
		<u>388</u>
<u>59 VISITING FREQUENCY FREQ</u>		
1	0 - 4 visits in previous year	186
2	5 -20 visits in previous year	91
3	21+ visits in previous year	74
		<u>351</u>
0	non-visitors	
<u>60 VISITING TIME TIME</u>		
1	0 -21 days spent visiting in previous year	100
2	22-35 days spent visiting in previous year	95
3	36+ days spent visiting in previous year	156
		<u>351</u>
0	non-visitors	

1973 Hostels Study Continued

<u>62 VISITING COST COST</u>		
Total cost of trips to rural area in previous year (one-way).		
1	\$ 0,0- 4,9	133
2	\$ 5,0-12,0	118
3	\$12,1+	100
		<u>351</u>
0	non-visitors	

1973 Hostels Study Continued

Cell values of cross-tabulations between significantly related 1973 Hostels variables ($p < .01$)

	1	2	3	χ^2/CC	1	2	3	χ^2/CC	1	2	3	χ^2/CC
	2 x 6				2 x 7				2 x 8			
1	12	40	60	91,6	110	40	14	121,9	28	89	30	44,4
2	104	96	30	,44	29	116	77	,49	0	26	45	,41
3	23	20	1									
	2 x 9				2 x 10				2 x 11			
1	59	40	23	17,4	26	67	3	112,2	26	104	29	70,6
2	39	48	16	,21	2	47	36	,59	1	8	32	,50
3	40	60	44		0	1	30		0	3	14	
	2 x 12				2 x 14				2 x 15			
1	132	70	18	141,5	102	71	29	75,3	71	59	17	27,5
2	7	86	72	,52	36	75	38	,40	38	36	28	,26
3					0	10	24		28	59	39	
	2 x 16				2 x 18				2 x 19			
1	101	33	8	174,8	24	49	44	13,0	107	87	36	59,3
2	32	60	12	,57	45	49	23	,23	30	57	27	,37
3	3	59	64						1	10	23	
	2 x 20				2 x 23				2 x 27			
1	89	83	26	29,7	63	54	48	15,3	52	81	50	11,8
2	29	57	43	,27	39	42	24	,20	79	71	29	,18
3	16	9	11		37	59	14					
	2 x 37				2 x 39				2 x 58			
1	58	95	48	10,3	43	107	80	91,1	8	10	17	19,7
2	73	58	31	,17	95	47	7	,44	81	69	38	,22
3									50	77	36	
	2 x 62				3 x 21				3 x 22			
1	64	46	23	13,5	8	16	8	15,1	35	36	15	16,7
2	42	49	27	,19	15	34	37	,20	22	44	21	,23
3	25	51	24		72	105	51		28	57	50	
	3 x 24				3 x 25				3 x 58			
1	18	44	59	41,1	2	13	20	18,8	1	5	11	91,9
2	79	111	40	,32	95	143	79	,23	21	79	79	,45
3									75	74	11	
	3 x 59				3 x 60				3 x 62			
1	21	78	78	122,3	7	50	39	67,5	24	66	40	24,2
2	22	55	11	,51	14	44	32	,41	34	37	38	,26
3	53	20	1		75	59	19		38	50	12	
	4 x 6				4 x 16				4 x 20			
1	114	0		17,0	137	5		12,0	194	4		26,3
2	222	8		,20	95	9		,18	127	3		,26
3	38	6			128	0			29	7		
	5 x 25				5 x 55				6 x 7			
1	28	25	1	20,3	147	30	9	13,8	31	107	27	18,9
2	246	58	9	,23	126	52	1	,19	83	123	17	,22
	6 x 8				6 x 10				6 x 11			
1	42	94	12	13,4	19	68	9	29,5	43	101	15	24,8
2	38	28	5	,24	33	45	7	,35	25	16	1	,32
3					23	8	1		12	4	1	

1973 Hostels Study Continued

	1	2	3	χ^2/CC	1	2	3	χ^2/CC	1	2	3	χ^2/CC
	6 x 12				6 x 14				6 x 16			
1	37	155	28	38,0	48	128	26	20,7	23	97	22	56,5
2	76	75	16	,30	45	89	17	,23	16	74	14	,36
3					21	12	1		67	54	7	
	6 x 18				6 x 19				6 x 20			
1	46	62	10	9,6	56	142	33	17,1	41	127	30	13,8
2	25	84	9	,20	33	72	10	,21	41	81	8	,19
3					19	14	1		14	16	6	
	6 x 22				6 x 23				6 x 24			
1	16	64	7	16,5	64	90	13	16,2	57	79	11	12,4
2	20	61	9	,22	28	63	14	,20	54	148	33	,18
3	54	73	22		19	74	17					
	6 x 25				6 x 27				6 x 34			
1	33	23	2	26,3	60	98	27	9,5	25	25	10	10,6
2	79	205	42	,25	43	122	14	,16	78	195	31	,17
	6 x 36				6 x 39				6 x 41			
1	26	45	18	10,3	89	119	24	26,1	89	161	17	24,4
2	77	175	23	,17	21	108	20	,25	22	68	26	,24
	6 x 58				7 x 9				7 x 12			
1	26	10	1	33,3	66	57		12,6	135	85		75,3
2	46	118	24	,28	49	55		,18	29	138		,40
3	42	102	19		47	97						
	7 x 13				7 x 14				7 x 15			
1	89	77		15,2	110	92		28,8	86	61		24,0
2	74	145		,19	49	102		,26	36	67		,24
3					5	29			40	87		
	7 x 16				7 x 17				7 x 19			
1	103	39		96,1	29	23		15,1	125	106		38,7
2	35	69		,45	29	65		,25	32	83		,30
3	19	109			22	68			3	31		
	7 x 20				7 x 21				7 x 39			
1	106	92		31,7	39	6		84,0	54	178		89,9
2	29	101		,28	63	35		,43	108	41		,44
3	14	22			59	176						
	7 x 46				7 x 51				7 x 56			
1	43	32		8,5	57	46		9,7	52	41		9,2
2	119	188		,15	105	174		,16	110	179		,15
	7 x 58				7 x 59				7 x 60			
1	22	15		30,5	100	86		29,7	55	45		13,3
2	100	88		,27	28	63		,28	38	57		,19
3	43	120			15	59			50	106		
	7 x 62				8 x 10				8 x 11			
1	78	55		43,1	87	9		52,7	121	38		20,9
2	49	69		,33	51	34		,45	20	22		,30
3	16	84			8	24			6	11		

1973 Hostels Study Continued

	1	2	3	χ^2/CC	1	2	3	χ^2/CC	1	2	3	χ^2/CC
	8 x 12				8 x 16				8 x 33			
1	70	13		17,1	31	7		15,8	52	37		8,1
2	78	58		,27	56	13		,26	90	27		,19
3					60	47						
	8 x 39				9 x 12				9 x 14			
1	109	68		14,2	81	67	66	13,1	79	58	61	15,8
2	37	3		,25	42	37	77	,18	36	41	63	,20
3									8	5	19	
	9 x 16				9 x 22				9 x 39			
1	60	45	36	19,8	33	23	28	19,3	61	59	99	12,4
2	26	28	43	,23	37	23	25	,24	62	43	41	,18
3	34	27	62		29	42	74					
	12 x 13				13 x 14				13 x 15			
1	146	20		113,1	104	98		16,9	90	57		41,6
2	74	145		,48	55	93		,21	43	59		,32
3					6	28			28	97		
	13 x 16				13 x 19				13 x 20			
1	100	42		89,1	119	111		19,7	97	100		14,1
2	41	63		,44	33	81		,22	37	92		,19
3	17	109			9	24			17	19		
	13 x 31				13 x 37				13 x 43			
1	90	149		8,5	73	128		8,8	127	140		9,3
2	66	57		,15	84	78		,15	21	34		,15
3									15	42		
	13 x 45				13 x 51				13 x 58			
1	41	31		7,0	57	45		9,4	19	16		15,6
2	122	185		,14	106	171		,16	96	92		,20
3									51	111		
	13 x 59				13 x 62				14 x 46			
1	94	92		13,4	72	61		15,0	44	19	12	10,7
2	33	57		,19	46	72		,20	157	128	21	,17
3	20	54			29	70						
	15 x 16				15 x 17				15 x 18			
1	89	35	17	81,6	9	19	20	179,3	9	59	46	14,7
2	37	34	32	,43	1	83	10	,66	1	44	73	,24
3	19	34	71		0	1	89					
	15 x 19				15 x 20				16 x 17			
1	125	51	48	67,5	117	40	35	112,3	19	10	20	17,8
2	21	38	55	,39	4	51	73	,49	25	35	34	,27
3	1	14	19		15	11	10		13	23	54	
	16 x 18				16 x 19				16 x 20			
1	20	25	70	19,3	117	58	50	71,5	96	56	41	52,6
2	37	43	38	,28	24	41	48	,40	19	40	67	,36
3					1	4	27		19	6	10	

APPENDIX C.1973/74 MUFAKOSE MULTIVARIATE ANALYSIS.Contents:

- Legend to substantive cross-tabulation tables
- Description of variables
- Cell values of cross-tabulations between significantly related variables.

Legend to substantive cross-tabulation tables

- 1) The sample refers to 269 of the 272 principal respondents to a survey conducted among heads of households in Mufakose African Township, Salisbury in 1973/74, for whom sufficient data pertaining to variables included in the multivariate analysis were available.
- 2) Variables included in the analysis are identified by numbers 1, ... 43.
- 3) Categories distinguished in the variable distributions are designated 1, 2, 3 and are described below. In ordinal distributions category 1 usually refers to a low value on the particular variable or to a response inferring lower 'urbanization' or 'urbanism', category 2 a medium, and category 3 a high value respectively. In nominal distributions categories 1, 2, 3 designate unrelated value classes.
- 4) Cutting points between categories are chosen arbitrarily to divide sample distribution into two or three numerically equal groups. Where this is not possible, the cutting points merely divide what are regarded as meaningful categories of responses.
- 5) Cross-tabulations between each variable X and all other variables in the analysis set, identified by a number greater than X, were executed in numerical order with the following omissions: 14 (RENT) by 15, ... 43; 16 (HOVISIT) by 20, ... 43; 17 (LRV) by 20, ... 43; 18 (RLRV) by 20, ... 43; 21 (REMITVAL) by 26, ... 43; 22 (TERMINUS) by 33, ... 43; 26 (FREQ) by 36, ... 39; 27 (TIME) by 28, 32, ... 43; 28 (DISTANCE) by 29, ... 43; 29 (COST) by 33, ... 43; 32 (DESTAN) by 33, ... 43.
- 6) Only cross-tabulations between significantly related variables are listed below.
- 7) In the cross-tabulation table X x Y, the distribution on variable X is horizontally arranged, the distribution on variable Y vertically arranged. Only cell values and chi square values are shown in the pertinent columns.

- 8) A chi square test has been applied to all cross-tabulated distributions. Limitations to meaningful usage of the test and the formula for computation of the chi square value are given in Appendix B.
- 9) Correlations between variables expressed by a contingency coefficient CC have been computed for a selection of distributions and are shown in Table 16.8 in Chapter 16. The formula for computation of the CC value along with comments on interpretation of the values are also to be found in Appendix B.
- 10) The null hypothesis that there is no significant relationship between the variables concerned is rejected, when a probability of .01 is associated with the occurrence of a chi square value as large or larger than:
 - 6,64 with 1 d.f. (2 by 2 table)
 - 9,21 with 2 d.f. (2 by 3 table)
 - 13,28 with 4 d.f. (3 by 3 table) (Siegel 1956:249, Table C).

Reference:

Siegel, Sidney, 1956, *Nonparametric Statistics for the Behavioural Sciences*, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co.

Description of 1973/74 Mufakose variables included in multivariate analysis

<u>Identification and categorization:</u>	<u>N = 269</u>	<u>distribution</u>
<u>1 AGE</u>		
1 25-38 years		84
2 39-46 years		91
3 47+ years		86
		<u>261</u>
<u>2 ORIGIN</u>		
Distance of place of origin from Salisbury.		
1 -160 miles approximately		67
2 161-320 miles approximately		65
3 320+ miles approximately		42
		<u>174</u>
0 foreigners, no information		
<u>3 FOREIGN</u>		
Country of origin.		
1 foreigners		93
2 Rhodesians		174
		<u>267</u>
<u>4 MARRIAGE DURATION MARRDUR</u>		
Total years married.		
1 -11 years		80
2 12-17 years		89
3 18-46 years		91
		<u>260</u>
<u>5 HOUSEHOLD SIZE HHSIZE</u>		
1 1- 4 persons		81
2 5- 6 persons		82
3 7-15 persons		103
		<u>266</u>
<u>6 FAMILY STRUCTURE FAMSTR</u>		
1 fragmented family		34
2 elementary and polygamous family		205
3 elementary enlarged family		28
		<u>267</u>
<u>7 LAND RIGHTS LAND</u>		
Present right to work a plot of land in rural area.		
1 land rights		176
2 no land rights		88
		<u>264</u>
<u>8 EDUCATIONAL STANDARD EDUCST</u>		
1 no schooling	- Std. 3/Grd. 5	124
2 Std. 4/Grd. 6	- Std. 6/Grd. 7	112
3 Form 1/Junior Certificate and higher		29
		<u>265</u>

1973/74 Mufakose Study Continued

<u>9 INCOME</u>		
1	-\$39	78
2	\$40-\$59	99
3	\$60+	69
		<u>246</u>
<u>10 FORMER RESIDENCE FORRES</u>		
1	Harare Hostels	43
2	European area/special compounds	18
3	Salisbury African townships	195
		<u>256</u>
0	other	
<u>11 DURATION OF RESIDENCE IN MUFAKOSE MUFRES</u>		
1	newcomers - 7 years	188
2	oldtimers 8+ years	81
		<u>269</u>
<u>12 AREA</u>		
Area of residence in Mufakose.		
1	newer Areas H, G, J, X, Y	170
2	core Areas A, B, C, D, E, F	99
		<u>269</u>
<u>13 HOUSE TYPE HOUSE</u>		
1	2 rooms	56
2	3 rooms	153
3	4+rooms	60
		<u>269</u>
<u>14 RENT SUBSIDY RENT</u>		
1	rent subsidized	134
2	full rent paid	134
		<u>268</u>
<u>15 JOB</u>		
Number of jobs held with different employers since arrival in town.		
1	1 job	69
2	2 jobs	67
3	3 or more jobs	125
		<u>261</u>
<u>16 HOME VISITS HOVISIT</u>		
Number of visits to the rural home after loss of employment.		
1	0 visits	89
2	1 visit	48
3	2+ visits	48
		<u>185</u>
0	respondent still in first urban employment	

1973/74 Mufakose Study Continued17 LONGEST RURAL VISIT LRV

Longest visit to the rural home since arrival in town.		
1	under 4 weeks	102
2	4 weeks - 1 year	142
3	over 1 year	23
		<u>267</u>

18 REASON FOR LONGEST RURAL VISIT RLRV

1	leave, holiday visit	170
2	out of employment, rest, family affairs	70
		<u>240</u>
0	other	

19 STABILIZATION STAB

Years spent in town over 15 years of age multiplied by 100 and divided by age minus 15 years. Index varies from 0 - 100.		
1	-75	121
2	76+	133
		<u>254</u>

20 REMITTANCE FREQUENCY REMITFR

Remittances sent or taken to the rural home.		
1	no remittances	67
2	irregular remittances (bimonthly or less frequent)	107
3	regular remittances (monthly to weekly)	88
		<u>262</u>

21 REMITTANCE VALUE REMITVAL

Average value of remittances.		
1	-\$7	78
2	\$ 8-\$10	64
3	\$11+	44
		<u>186</u>
0	no remittances, no information	

22 TERMINUS VISIT TERMINUS

Habit of visiting the Musika bus terminus.		
1	no	137
2	yes	132
		<u>269</u>

23 VISITING PATTERN PATTERN

1	no visiting in previous year	88
2	occasional visiting in previous year	113
3	regular visiting in previous year	68
		<u>269</u>

24 WIFE'S VISITING PATTERN WPATTERN

1	no visiting in previous year	79
2	'urban' visiting pattern	53
3	'rural' visiting pattern or rural residence	135
		<u>267</u>

1973/74 Mufakose Study Continued25 ASPIRATIONS FOR VISITING VISITASP

Personal evaluation of visiting frequency in previous year.		
1	too little visiting	136
2	enough visiting	69
3	too much visiting	13
		<u>218</u>
0	not applicable inclusive non-visitors	

26 VISITING FREQUENCY FREQ

1	1- 2 visits in previous year	70
2	3-10 visits in previous year	46
3	11+ visits in previous year	65
		<u>181</u>
0	non-visitors	

27 VISITING TIME TIME

1	-21 days spent visiting in previous year	62
2	22-48 days spent visiting in previous year	61
3	49+ days spent visiting in previous year	58
		<u>181</u>
0	non-visitors	

28 DISTANCE

Total distance travelled on trips to rural area in previous year (one-way).		
1	-299 miles	53
2	300-799 miles	64
3	800+ miles	64
		<u>181</u>
0	non-visitors	

29 COST

Total cost of trips to rural area in previous year (one-way).		
1	\$ 0,0-\$4,9	70
2	\$ 5,0-\$9,9	40
3	\$10,0+	71
		<u>181</u>
0	non-visitors	

30 LEAVE VISIT LEAVE

Visit to rural home during annual leave in previous year.		
1	no leave visit	151
2	leave visit	118
		<u>269</u>

31 HOLIDAY VISIT HOLIDAY

Visit to rural home at holiday time in previous year.		
1	no holiday visit	146
2	holiday visit	123
		<u>269</u>

1973/74 Mufakose Study Continued32 DESTINATIONAL ANALYSIS DESTAN

1	stereotype destinaltional pattern	132
2	variations in destinaltional pattern	48
		<u>180</u>
0	non-visitors, no information	

33 FAMILY RELIANCE FAMREL

	Tendency toward family reliance in ten need situations.	
1	low reliance, reliance on family in 0-2 need situations	100
2	medium reliance, reliance on family in 3-4 need situations	91
3	high reliance, reliance on family in 5-10 need situations	77
		<u>268</u>

34 RURAL-URBAN PREFERENCE RUPREF

	Preference for permanent residence with family in town or rural area.	
1	rural area preference	155
2	town preference (includes town preference during working life only)	88
		<u>243</u>

35 CATTLE-PENSION PREFERENCE CPPREF

	Preference for cattle or pension at retirement.	
1	cattle preference	133
2	pension preference	118
		<u>251</u>

URBAN PRIORITY RANKING

1	low priority		
2	high priority		
36	COMMUNITY SERVICES PRIORITY	CPRIORITY	91 163 254
37	TENURE PRIORITY	TPRIORITY	105 148 253
38	HOUSING PRIORITY	HPRIORITY	131 123 254
39	FACILITIES PRIORITY	FPRIORITY	179 75 254

40 ADVISORY BOARD ADVISB

1	no knowledge of Advisory Board	191
2	knowledge of Advisory Board	75
		<u>266</u>

41 PROPOSALS FOR CHANGE IN MUFAKOSE CHANGE

	Changes proposed pertaining to:	
1	rent	73
2	housing, accommodation, electricity	60
3	tenure	40
		<u>173</u>
0	other	

42 ASPIRATION FOR MOBILITY OUT OF MUFAKOSE ASPMOB

1	no aspiration	130
2	aspiration	138
		<u>268</u>

1973/74 Mufakose Study Continued43 REASONS FOR MOBILITY ASPIRATION RASPMOB

1	centrality	36
2	accommodation	25
3	tenure	44
0	no aspiration or other reasons stated	<u>105</u>

1973/74 Mufakose Study Continued

Cell values of cross-tabulations between significantly related 1973/74 Mufakose variables ($p < .01$)

	1	2	3	χ^2	1	2	3	χ^2	1	2	3	χ^2
	1 x 4				1 x 5				1 x 8			
1	53	14	12	95,9	35	24	20	21,0	24	43	53	24,9
2	21	49	17		32	27	20		41	41	29	
3	8	27	52		17	39	46		18	7	4	
	1 x 13				1 x 24				2 x 23			
1	24	20	6	15,1	33	20	25	13,4	7	9	5	15,7
2	47	51	55		16	12	21		25	35	30	
3	13	20	25		33	59	40		35	21	7	
	2 x 26				3 x 6				3 x 7			
1	13	17	20	15,9	2	32		15,9	38	136		38,0
2	14	18	10		83	122			53	35		
3	33	21	7		8	20						
	3 x 8				3 x 9				3 x 13			
1	67	57		40,3	35	43		9,6	28	27		14,7
2	23	89			40	58			55	98		
3	2	27			15	54			10	49		
	3 x 14				3 x 15				3 x 20			
1	61	73		13,2	34	34		11,4	46	21		69,3
2	32	100			17	50			42	64		
3					36	88			4	83		
	3 x 22				3 x 23				3 x 24			
1	74	63		45,6	66	21		99,5	52	27		77,5
2	19	111			23	90			28	25		
3					4	63			13	120		
	3 x 25				3 x 26				3 x 28			
1	39	97		8,9*	20	50		16,9	8	45		13,6
2	9	59			4	42			17	47		
3	0	12			3	61			2	61		
	3 x 29				3 x 30				3 x 31			
1	10	60		14,4	77	73		41,1	83	63		68,8
2	13	27			16	101			10	111		
3	4	66										
	3 x 32				3 x 34				3 x 35			
1	13	119		10,3	34	121		32,0	28	104		28,5
2	14	34			51	37			63	54		
	3 x 40				3 x 41				3 x 42			
1	86	104		32,4	21	51		10,3	58	72		10,4
2	6	68			27	33			35	101		
3					6	34						
	4 x 5				4 x 8				4 x 11			
1	35	19	24	33,3	21	43	54	29,5	67	62	51	15,4
2	33	27	18		39	39	31		13	27	40	
3	11	42	48		19	6	4					

1973/74 Mufakose Study Continued

	1	2	3	χ^2	1	2	3	χ^2	1	2	3	χ^2
	9 x 13				9 x 14				9 x 40			
1	19	28	6	23,6	67	56	3	99,6	68	79	29	39,4
2	46	58	35		11	42	66		10	20	38	
3	13	13	28									
	10 x 14				11 x 12				11 x 13			
1	32	12	86	14,7	159	11		122,7	45	11		44,7
2	11	6	108		29	70			122	31		
3									21	39		
	11 x 14				11 x 22				11 x 40			
1	105	29		8,6	107	30		9,0	147	44		16,0
2	83	51			81	51			39	36		
	12 x 13				12 x 40				12 x 41			
1	54	2		76,2	137	54		21,4	38	35		21,2
2	104	49			31	44			52	8		
3	12	48							20	20		
	13 x 18				13 x 22				13 x 23			
1	40	83	47	11,6	30	89	18	13,9	26	50	12	13,5
2	9	51	10		26	64	42		15	63	35	
3									15	40	13	
	13 x 40				13 x 41				13 x 43			
1	55	107	29	33,1	11	41	21	21,8	5	26	5	14,4
2	1	45	29		20	33	7		9	10	6	
3					0	28	12		3	26	15	
	15 x 16				15 x 18				15 x 19			
1	2	30	53	49,4	50	39	73	15,2	37	41	40	19,9
2	0	32	16		5	23	42		27	23	81	
3	0	0	47									
	16 x 17				16 x 18				17 x 18			
1	52	7	10	40,4	72	16	23	52,6	74	94	2	67,7
2	36	32	28		5	31	24		3	46	21	
3	1	9	10									
	20 x 22				20 x 23				20 x 24			
1	54	53	27	38,1	46	35	4	108,9	38	33	6	79,3
2	13	54	61		17	60	35		16	28	6	
3					4	12	49		13	44	76	
	20 x 26				20 x 27				20 x 28			
1	16	34	20	43,3	10	40	11	35,6	7	27	19	26,1
2	2	27	16		5	21	34		12	30	20	
3	3	11	48		6	11	39		2	15	45	
	20 x 29				20 x 30				20 x 31			
1	9	38	22	24,6	58	61	28	46,4	57	62	24	52,1
2	7	18	13		9	46	60		10	45	64	
3	5	16	49									
	20 x 34				20 x 35				22 x 23			
1	31	58	63	15,4	20	59	50	18,3	69	19		41,5
2	33	35	16		45	43	27		47	66		
3									21	47		

1973/74 Mufakose Study Continued

	1	2	3	χ^2	1	2	3	χ^2	1	2	3	χ^2
	22 x 24				22 x 30				22 x 31			
1	53	26		25,9	95	56		19,8	102	44		45,8
2	35	18			42	76			35	88		
3	48	87										
	23 x 24				23 x 25				23 x 26			
1	58	16	5	109,7	36	76	24	33,5	70	0		169,0
2	17	32	4		4	31	34		43	3		
3	13	65	57		1	3	9		0	65		
	23 x 27				23 x 28				23 x 29			
1	60	2		88,0	52	1		108,1	66	4		92,4
2	44	17			53	11			33	7		
3	9	49			8	56			14	57		
	23 x 31				23 x 34				23 x 35			
1	48	11		13,4	36	67	52	26,7	28	59	46	26,4
2	65	57			47	31	10		58	44	16	
	23 x 40				23 x 41				24 x 26			
1	76	70	45	15,9	24	32	17	17,9	11	20	39	21,8
2	11	42	22		25	19	16		5	14	27	
3					3	28	9		5	2	56	
	24 x 27				24 x 28				24 x 30			
1	8	21	33	15,6	5	13	35	19,9	68	30	52	45,8
2	8	11	41		9	21	34		11	23	83	
3	5	4	48		7	2	53					
	24 x 31				24 x 32				24 x 34			
1	66	35	44	55,8	12	19	99	14,9	34	25	94	30,5
2	13	18	91		9	17	22		43	23	22	
	24 x 35				25 x 26				25 x 28			
1	28	21	82	22,1	47	19	1	22,9	36	14	1	15,1
2	50	29	39		32	12	2		40	21	1	
3					21	34	9		24	30	10	
	25 x 29				25 x 31				26 x 27			
1	43	24	1	15,7	78	17	2	24,2	42	20	0	103,2
2	29	8	1		58	52	11		21	24	16	
3	28	33	10						7	2	49	
	26 x 28				26 x 29				26 x 31			
1	43	10	0	138,2	49	19	2	113,0	40	11	8	33,0
2	27	28	9		15	19	6		30	35	57	
3	0	8	56		6	8	57					
	27 x 29				27 x 30				27 x 31			
1	45	20	5	32,6	38	8	17	11,4	30	17	12	80,0
2	14	19	7		24	53	41		32	44	46	
3	3	22	46									
	29 x 31				30 x 31				30 x 34			
1	30	17	12	13,1	110	36		47,8	73	82		19,4
2	40	23	59		41	82			67	21		
	30 x 35				30 x 40				30 x 41			
1	62	71		14,4	119	72		9,6	45	28		9,6
2	83	35			31	44			35	25		
3									13	27		

1973/74 Mufakose Study Continued

	1	2	3	χ^2		1	2	3	χ^2		1	2	3	χ^2
	31 x 34					31 x 35					31 x 40			
1	72	83		14,4	55	78		20,0	114	77				7,3
2	63	25			82	36			31	44				
	34 x 35					36 x 37					36 x 38			
1	96	25		30,6	9	96		58,5	22	109				42,6
2	49	62			82	66			69	54				
	37 x 38					37 x 39					38 x 39			
1	42	88		9,3	53	126		35,7	67	112				48,6
2	63	60			52	22			64	11				
	41 x 43													
1	16	10	2	26,4										
2	4	12	2											
3	6	10	18											

* only significant at .05 level.

APPENDIX D.1975 HOSTELS MULTIVARIATE ANALYSIS.Contents:

- Legend to substantive cross-tabulation tables
- Description of variables
- Cell values of cross-tabulations between significantly related variables.

Legend to substantive cross-tabulation tables

- 1) The sample refers to 150 respondents to a survey conducted among hostel dwellers in Harare African Township, Salisbury in 1975.
- 2) Variables included in the analysis are identified by numbers 2. ... 47.
- 3) With the exception of the education variable 4, which is trichotomized, variables are dichotomized. Categories distinguished in the variable distributions are designated 1 and 2 and are described below. Category 1 usually refers to a response inferring higher 'urbanization' (i.e. 'urban commitment' or 'urban involvement'), category 2 to one inferring lower 'urbanization'. On a few variables (especially determinants) category 1 merely refers to a low value on the particular variable.
- 4) The cutting points between categories have been chosen to divide sample distribution into two numerically equal groups. Where this is not possible, the cutting point divides meaningful categories of responses with respect to urbanization aspects.
- 5) Cross-tabulations between each variable X and all other variables in the analysis set, identified by a number greater than X, were executed in numerical order.
- 6) Only cross-tabulations between significantly related variables are listed below. Tables including variable 4 are to be found at the end of the list.
- 7) In the cross-tabulation table X x Y, the distribution on variable X is horizontally arranged, the distribution on variable Y vertically arranged. Only cell values and chi square values are shown in the pertinent columns.
- 8) A chi square test has been applied to all cross-tabulated distributions. Limitations to meaningful usage of the test and the formula for computation of the chi square value are given in Appendix B.

- 9) Correlations between variables expressed by a contingency coefficient CC have been computed for distributions of significantly related variables and are shown in Table 17.1 in Chapter 17. The formula for computation of the CC value along with comments on interpretation of the values are also found in Appendix B.
- 10) The null hypothesis that there is no significant relationship between the variables concerned is rejected, when a probability of .01 is associated with the occurrence of a chi square value as large or larger than:

6,64 with 1 d.f. (2 by 2 table)

9,21 with 2 d.f. (2 by 3 table) (Siegel 1956:249, Table C).

Reference:

Siegel, Sidney, 1956, *Nonparametric Statistics for the Behavioural Sciences*, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co.

Description of 1975 Hostels variables included in multivariate analysis

<u>Identification and categorization:</u>	<u>N = 150</u>	<u>distribution</u>
<u>2 PRESSURE</u>		
1 respondent originates from TTL with lower population pressure		80
2 respondent originates from TTL with higher population pressure		66
(1 = index 1-3, 2 = index 4, cf. Table 6.3, Chapter 6)		146
<u>3 AGE</u>		
1 -27 years		78
2 28+ years		72
		150
<u>4 EDUCATIONAL STANDARD EDUCST</u>		
1 post primary education	high standard	19
2 Std. 4/Grd. 6 - Std. 6/Grd. 7	medium standard	91
3 no schooling - Std. 3/Grd. 5	low standard	40
		150
<u>5 INCOME</u>		
1 \$40+	high income	78
2 -\$39	low income	72
		150
<u>6 MARITAL STATUS MARRST</u>		
1 single, widowers, divorcees		67
2 married		83
		150
<u>7 MARRIAGE TYPE MARRTYPE</u>		
1 registered, christian		30
2 traditional		57
		87
0 single respondents		
<u>8 MARRIAGE DURATION MARRDUR</u>		
total years married.		
1 -4 years	low marriage duration	37
2 4+ years	high marriage duration	50
		87
0 single respondents		
<u>9 CHILDREN</u>		
total number children.		
1 -2 children	smaller nuclear family	45
2 3+ children	larger nuclear family	42
		87
0 single respondents		

1975 Hostels Study Continued10 URBAN EXPERIENCE URBEXP

Years spent in town over 15 years of age.

1	7+ years	high urban experience	66
2	-6 years	low urban experience	84
			<u>150</u>

11 STABILIZATION STAB

Years spent in town over 15 years of age multiplied by 100 and divided by age minus 15 years. Index varies from 0 - 100.

1	44+ high stabilization	71
2	-43 low stabilization	79
		<u>150</u>

12 STEP MIGRATION STEPMIG

1 direct migration to Salisbury

1	direct migration to Salisbury	120
2	step migration to Salisbury	30
		<u>150</u>

13 MIGRATION TRADITION MIGTRAD

1 father is migrant labourer

1	father is migrant labourer	104
2	father is not migrant labourer	46
		<u>150</u>

14 SOCIAL MOBILITY SOCMOB

Job mobility indicates

1	achievement increase	53
2	uncertain, equal achievement, decrease	33
		<u>86</u>

0 respondent still in first urban employment

15 JOB SHIFT JOBSHIFT

Number of jobs held with different employers since arrival in town.

1	second or more job	high job mobility	86
2	first job	low job mobility	64
			<u>150</u>

16 JOB STABILITY JOBSTAB

1 held one job for over 5 years high high job stability

1	held one job for over 5 years	high high job stability	66
2	held one job for less than 5 years	low job stability	37
			<u>103</u>

0 respondent still in first employment

17 HOME VISIT HOVISIT

Sojourn at rural home for period of six months or more.

1	no career interruption	119
2	career interruption	31
		<u>150</u>

1975 Hostels Study Continued18 URBAN COMMITMENT URBCOMMIT

Intention of staying in town.

1	temporary and permanent stabilization response	135
2	migrant labour response	9
		<u>144</u>

19 RURAL-URBAN PREFERENCE RUPREF

Preference for residence with family in town or rural area.

1	urban preference, undecided	24
2	rural preference	126
		<u>150</u>

20 RURAL VISITING PATTERN PATTERN

1 non-visitor or occasional visitor

1	non-visitor or occasional visitor	79
2	regular visitor	71
		<u>150</u>

21 WIFE'S (URBAN) VISITING PATTERN WPATTERN

1 wife visits town

1	wife visits town	44
2	wife does not visit town	35
		<u>79</u>

0 single respondents

22 REMITTANCE FREQUENCY REMITFR

1 non-remitter or occasional remitter

1	non-remitter or occasional remitter	49
2	regular remitter	101
		<u>150</u>

23 PERCENTAGE REMITTED REMITPC

1 -18 percent of income remitted

1	-18 percent of income remitted	71
2	19+ percent of income remitted	65
		<u>136</u>

24 LAND

Rights to work a plot of land in rural area.

1	no land rights	35
2	actual or potential land rights	115
		<u>150</u>

25 TAX

1 respondent does not pay taxes in rural area

1	respondent does not pay taxes in rural area	18
2	respondent pays taxes in rural area	132
		<u>150</u>

26 CATTLE

1 respondent does not own cattle

1	respondent does not own cattle	54
2	respondent owns cattle	96
		<u>150</u>

1975 Hostels Study Continued

<u>27 RURAL HOME RURHOME</u>		
1	respondent has not (yet) built a house in rural area	88
2	respondent has built house in rural area	62
		<u>150</u>
<u>28 TRIBAL ROLE TRIBE</u>		
1	respondent has no tribal role	127
2	respondent has actual or potential tribal role or aspires to one	23
		<u>150</u>
<u>29 URBAN KINSHIP TIES URBKIN</u>		
1	visits urban kin seldom, never; no urban kin	57
2	visits urban kin often	93
	loose ties	
	tight ties	
		<u>150</u>
<u>30 DRINKING COMPANIONS DRINKCOMP</u>		
1	urban-tied drinking companions	54
2	rural-tied drinking companions	43
		<u>97</u>
0	abstainers	
<u>31 CLUB MEMBERSHIP CLUB</u>		
1	club membership in town	38
2	no club membership in town	112
		<u>150</u>
<u>32 CHURCH</u>		
1	church membership (regular, irregular churchgoer)	71
2	no church membership	79
		<u>150</u>
<u>33 BURIAL SOCIETY BURIALS</u>		
1	no burial society membership	136
2	burial society membership	14
		<u>150</u>
<u>34 THRIFT SOCIETY THRIFTS</u>		
1	thrift society membership	76
2	no thrift society membership	74
		<u>150</u>
<u>35 TRADE UNION TRADEU</u>		
1	trade union membership	34
2	no trade union membership	116
		<u>150</u>
<u>36 PENSION</u>		
1	participation in pension scheme	30
2	no participation in pension scheme	120
		<u>150</u>

1975 Hostels Study Continued

<u>37 WEEKDAY LEISURE LEIS1</u>			
1	urban leisure activity	56	
2	non-urban leisure activity	94	
		<u>150</u>	
<u>38 WEEKEND LEISURE LEIS2</u>			
1	urban leisure activity	63	
2	non-urban leisure activity	87	
		<u>150</u>	
<u>39 COMPANION</u>			
1	urban-tied leisure companionship	93	
2	rural-tied leisure companionship	57	
		<u>150</u>	
<u>40 CONSUMPTION PATTERN CONSUM</u>			
1	urban consumption pattern (undecided)	47	
2	non-urban consumption pattern	103	
		<u>150</u>	
<u>41 HOSTEL RESIDENCE HOSRES</u>			
Years spent in a hostel.			
1	5+ years	long-term hostel resident	53
2	0-4 years	short-term hostel resident	97
			<u>150</u>
<u>42 ROOMMATE</u>			
1	urban-tied hostel roommates	97	
2	rural-tied hostel roommates	53	
		<u>150</u>	
<u>43 FORMER RESIDENCE FORRES</u>			
1	residence outside hostel for period over 1 year	68	
2	no residence outside hostel for period over 1 year	82	
		<u>150</u>	
<u>44 RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY ASPIRATION ASPMOB</u>			
1	aspiration for township residence	23	
2	no aspiration for township residence	126	
		<u>149</u>	
<u>45 CATTLE/PENSION PREFERENCE CPPREF</u>			
Preference for cattle or pension at retirement.			
1	pension preference	71	
2	cattle preference	79	
		<u>150</u>	
<u>46 RURAL-URBAN IDENTIFICATION IDENT</u>			
Image of self as			
1	person of the town, of both town and country	18	
2	person of the country	132	
		<u>150</u>	

1975 Hostels Study Continued

47 LIFE GOAL GOAL

1 modern life goal

2 less modern or traditional life goal

90

58

148

1975 Hostels Study Continued

Cell values of cross-tabulations between significantly related 1975 Hostels variables ($p < .01$).

1 2 χ^2		1 2 χ^2		1 2 χ^2		1 2 χ^2		1 2 χ^2	
2 x 22		2 x 43		3 x 5		3 x 6		3 x 8	
1	17 28 7,6	45 20 9,9	30 48 11,9	55 12 43,9	21 16 30,4				
2	63 38	35 46	48 24	23 60	2 48				
3 x 9		3 x 10		3 x 11		3 x 15		3 x 16	
1	22 23 24,2	8 58 75,1	27 44 10,5	32 54 17,7	11 55 29,6				
2	1 41	70 14	51 28	46 18	26 11				
3 x 17		3 x 19		3 x 22		3 x 24		3 x 25	
1	73 46 20,1	19 5 8,4	34 15 8,8	27 8 11,6	16 2 11,2				
2	5 26	59 67	44 57	51 64	62 70				
3 x 26		3 x 27		3 x 37		3 x 38		3 x 39	
1	44 10 29,4	70 18 64,7	41 15 16,1	43 20 11,5	58 35 10,5				
2	34 62	8 54	37 57	35 52	20 37				
3 x 41		3 x 43		3 x 44		3 x 45		5 x 10	
1	9 44 40,3	26 42 9,4	19 4 10,0	49 22 15,6	47 19 17,4				
2	69 28	52 30	59 67	29 50	31 53				
5 x 26		5 x 27		6 x 10		6 x 15		6 x 16	
1	13 41 26,4	33 55 17,9	10 56 41,5	29 57 9,8	14 52 13,4				
2	65 31	45 17	57 27	38 26	21 16				
6 x 17		6 x 20		6 x 22		6 x 24		6 x 25	
1	60 59 7,7	44 35 8,2	32 17 12,5	26 9 16,2	17 1 20,5				
2	7 24	23 48	35 66	41 74	50 82				
6 x 26		6 x 27		6 x 37		6 x 38		6 x 41	
1	36 18 16,5	61 27 52,3	36 20 13,9	38 25 10,8	9 44 25,4				
2	31 65	6 56	31 63	29 58	58 39				
6 x 46		7 x 8		7 x 9		7 x 10		7 x 26	
1	14 4 9,1	6 31 9,5	7 38 14,8	26 33 7,5	2 18 6,9				
2	53 79	24 26	23 19	4 24	28 39				
7 x 27		7 x 29		7 x 41		8 x 9		8 x 10	
1	3 26 11,2	18 17 7,4	22 23 8,6	35 10 47,4	12 47 37,0				
2	27 31	12 40	8 34	2 40	25 3				
8 x 11		8 x 15		8 x 17		8 x 19		8 x 26	
1	14 36 10,2	15 45 24,3	33 27 12,3	10 2 9,5	16 4 14,9				
2	23 14	22 5	4 23	27 48	21 46				
8 x 27		8 x 38		8 x 41		8 x 43		8 x 44	
1	24 5 28,8	19 9 10,8	11 34 12,5	14 34 7,8	10 2 9,5				
2	13 45	18 41	26 16	23 16	27 48				
8 x 45		9 x 10		9 x 15		9 x 16		9 x 17	
1	22 15 7,6	19 40 28,0	23 37 13,9	18 36 7,4	37 23 7,7				
2	15 35	26 2	22 5	12 5	8 19				
9 x 19		9 x 26		9 x 27		9 x 38		9 x 41	
1	11 1 8,9	16 4 8,3	27 2 29,8	21 7 9,0	14 31 15,9				
2	34 41	29 38	18 40	24 35	31 11				
9 x 43		9 x 44		9 x 45		10 x 11		10 x 15	
1	18 30 8,7	11 1 8,9	26 11 8,9	50 21 38,2	57 29 40,6				
2	27 12	34 41	19 31	16 63	9 55				

1975 Hostels Study Continued

	1 2 χ^2	1 2 χ^2	1 2 χ^2	1 2 χ^2	1 2 χ^2
	10 x 16	10 x 17	10 x 24	10 x 26	10 x 27
1	53 13 21,0	41 78 21,3	8 27 8,3	9 45 25,6	16 72 57,6
2	13 24	25 6	58 57	57 39	50 12
	10 x 37	10 x 38	10 x 39	10 x 41	10 x 43
1	15 41 10,7	15 48 18,0	32 61 9,1	40 13 32,9	44 24 21,6
2	51 43	51 36	34 23	26 71	22 60
	10 x 45	11 x 15	11 x 16	11 x 20	11 x 26
1	22 49 9,3	55 31 22,3	48 18 7,3	29 50 7,6	17 37 8,5
2	44 35	16 48	17 20	42 29	54 42
	11 x 27	11 x 41	11 x 43	13 x 16	15 x 17
1	32 56 10,3	36 17 13,9	44 24 15,1	39 27 10,2	56 63 24,8
2	39 23	35 62	27 55	33 4	30 1
	15 x 26	15 x 27	15 x 43	16 x 20	16 x 24
1	20 34 14,2	37 51 20,3	49 19 11,0	22 24 9,5	7 14 10,8
2	66 30	49 13	37 45	44 13	59 23
	16 x 25	16 x 26	16 x 27	16 x 37	16 x 40
1	1 6 8,1	6 16 16,5	19 26 16,6	16 20 9,3	13 17 7,9
2	65 31	60 21	47 11	50 17	53 20
	16 x 41	17 x 27	17 x 43	19 x 22	19 x 26
1	45 5 28,4	82 6 24,9	47 21 7,9	15 34 11,6	15 39 8,7
2	21 32	37 25	72 10	9 92	9 87
	19 x 27	19 x 39	19 x 40	19 x 44	19 x 45
1	20 68 7,2	21 72 7,9	16 31 16,6	23 0 110,1	20 51 14,6
2	4 58	3 54	8 95	0 126	4 75
	19 x 46	20 x 22	20 x 23	20 x 25	20 x 27
1	11 7 31,0	47 2 54,6	49 22 18,3	15 3 7,7	55 33 8,3
2	13 119	32 69	21 44	64 68	24 38
	20 x 28	20 x 41	20 x 46	21 x 29	22 x 23
1	73 54 7,7	19 34 9,3	15 3 7,7	12 21 8,6	33 38 23,0
2	6 17	60 37	64 68	32 14	6 59
	22 x 25	22 x 38	22 x 41	22 x 44	22 x 46
1	11 7 7,5	28 35 6,9	10 43 7,1	14 9 10,2	11 7 7,5
2	38 94	21 66	39 58	34 92	38 94
	23 x 26	23 x 41	24 x 25	24 x 27	24 x 37
1	32 15 7,3	18 33 9,4	9 9 8,1	32 56 20,2	20 36 7,7
2	39 50	53 32	26 106	3 59	15 79
	24 x 46	25 x 26	25 x 27	26 x 27	26 x 41
1	9 9 8,1	15 39 19,9	17 71 10,8	48 40 31,8	7 46 18,5
2	26 106	3 93	1 61	6 56	47 50
	26 x 44	27 x 37	27 x 38	27 x 41	27 x 43
1	15 8 9,9	41 15 7,8	48 15 13,8	17 36 23,9	29 39 13,2
2	39 87	47 47	40 47	71 26	59 23
	27 x 46	28 x 39	30 x 39	30 x 42	31 x 37
1	17 1 10,8	85 8 8,5	45 15 23,8	44 16 19,9	21 35 7,0
2	71 61	42 15	9 28	10 27	17 77
	31 x 38	37 x 38	37 x 41	38 x 41	38 x 45
1	26 37 14,6	36 27 18,2	10 43 11,9	12 41 12,6	39 32 9,3
2	12 75	20 67	46 51	51 46	24 55

1975 Hostels Study Continued

	1 2 χ^2	1 2 χ^2	1 2 χ^2	1 2 χ^2	1 2 χ^2
	39 x 42	39 x 44	39 x 45	40 x 44	40 x 46
1	68 29 7,7	21 2 9,7	52 19 7,2	15 8 15,0	13 5 15,9
2	25 28	72 54	41 38	31 95	34 98

	1 2 3 χ^2	1 2 3 χ^2	1 2 3 χ^2	1 2 3 χ^2
	4 x 3	4 x 9	4 x 10	4 x 11
1	15 52 11 16,1	7 30 8 12,2	4 36 26 11,9	10 34 27 10,4
2	4 39 29	1 20 21	15 55 14	9 57 13
	4 x 16	4 x 37	4 x 38	4 x 41
1	3 36 27 15,5	14 38 4 24,3	13 42 8 14,0	2 27 24 17,0
2	9 24 4	5 53 36	6 49 32	17 64 16

APPENDIX E.1975 MUFAKOSE AND KAMBUZUMA MULTIVARIATE ANALYSIS.Contents:

- Legend to substantive cross-tabulation tables
- Description of variables
- Cell values of cross-tabulations between significantly related variables.

Legend to substantive cross-tabulation tables

- 1) The sample refers to 150 respondents to a survey conducted among townsmen in Mufakose and Kambuzuma African Townships, Salisbury, respectively in 1975.
- 2) Variables included in the analysis are identified by numbers 1, ... 68.
- 3) With the exception of the education variables 9 and 10, which are trichotomized, variables are dichotomized. Categories distinguished in the variable distributions are designated 1 and 2 and are described below. Category 1 usually refers to a response inferring higher 'urbanization' (i.e. 'urban commitment' or 'urban involvement'), category 2 to one inferring lower 'urbanization'. On a few variables (especially determinants) category 1 merely refers to a low value on the particular variable.
- 4) The cutting points between categories have been chosen to divide sample distribution into two numerically equal groups. Where this is not possible, the cutting point divides meaningful categories of responses with respect to urbanization aspects. It will be noted that all 150 data sets are assigned either to category 1 or 2 (also 3 on variables 9 and 10) on each variable in the analysis with the exception of variable 50. Special mention of marginal response categorization is made whenever necessary.
- 5) Cross-tabulations between each variable X and all other variables in the analysis set, identified by a number greater than X, were executed in numerical order.
- 6) Only cross-tabulations between significantly related variables are listed below. Tables including variables 9 and 10 are to be found at the end of the respective Mufakose and Kambuzuma lists.
- 7) In the cross-tabulation table X x Y, the distribution on variable X is horizontally arranged, the distribution on variable Y vertically arranged. Only cell values are shown. Chi square values are shown immediately above CC values in the pertinent columns.

- 8) A chi square test has been applied to all cross-tabulated distributions. Limitations to meaningful usage of the test and the formula for computation of the chi square value are given in Appendix B.
- 9) Correlations between variables expressed by a contingency coefficient CC have been computed for distributions of significantly related variables. The formula for computation of the CC value along with comments on interpretation of the values are also found in Appendix B.
- 10) The null hypothesis that there is no significant relationship between the variables concerned is rejected, when a probability of .01 is associated with the occurrence of a chi square value as large or larger than:
6,64 with 1 d.f. (2 by 2 table)
9,21 with 2 d.f. (2 by 3 table)
13,28 with 4 d.f. (3 by 3 table) (Siegel 1956:249, Table C).

Reference:

Siegel, Sidney, 1956, *Nonparametric Statistics for the Behavioural Sciences*, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co.

Description of 1975 Mufakose and Kambuzuma variables included in multivariate analysis.

Identification and categorization:		N = 150	distribution	
			M	K
<u>1 AGE</u>				
1	-39 years	low age	53	73
2	40+ years	high age	97	77
			<u>150</u>	<u>150</u>
<u>2 POPULATION PRESSURE PRESSURE</u>				
Respondent originates from				
1	grossly over-populated TTL (APA or town)	rural push/urban pull	74	89
2	under- to over-populated TTL	lower rural push	76	61
			<u>150</u>	<u>150</u>
(cf. population pressure index, Chapter 6, Table 6.3).				
<u>3 MARRIAGE TYPE MARRTYPE</u>				
1	christian		55	35
2	traditional, traditional registered		95	115
			<u>150</u>	<u>150</u>
<u>4 MARRIAGE DURATION MARRDUR</u>				
1	M -19, K -14 years	short duration	99	90
2	M 20+, K 15+ years	long duration	51	60
			<u>150</u>	<u>150</u>
<u>5 HOUSEHOLD SIZE HHSIZE</u>				
1	-6 persons	small urban household	80	69
2	7+ persons	large urban household	70	81
			<u>150</u>	<u>150</u>
<u>6 LODGERS</u>				
1	no lodgers in urban household		90	47
2	lodgers in urban household		60	103
			<u>150</u>	<u>150</u>
<u>7 FAMILY STRUCTURE FAMSTR</u>				
1	elementary, elementary enlarged family		112	111
2	fragmented family		38	39
			<u>150</u>	<u>150</u>
<u>8 CHILDREN</u>				
1	M -5, K -4	small nuclear family	81	75
2	M 6+, K 5+	large nuclear family	69	75
			<u>150</u>	<u>150</u>

1975 Mufakose and Kambuzuma Study Continued

<u>9 EDUCATION EDUC</u>		M	K	
1	post primary education	high education	30	48
2	Std. 4/Grd. 6 - Std. 6/Grd. 7	medium education	83	85
3	no schooling - Std. 3/Grd. 5	low education	37	17
			<u>150</u>	<u>150</u>
<u>10 WIFE'S EDUCATION EDUCW</u>				
1	post primary education	high education	16	30
2	Std. 4/Grd. 6 - Std. 6/Grd. 7	medium education	76	79
3	no schooling - Std. 3/Grd. 5	low education	58	41
			<u>150</u>	<u>150</u>
<u>11 BOARDING SCHOOL BOARDSCH</u>				
1	children at boarding school		37	55
2	no children at boarding school		113	95
			<u>150</u>	<u>150</u>
<u>12 INCOME</u>				
1	M \$70+, K \$105+	high income	74	68
2	M -\$69, K -\$104	low income	76	82
			<u>150</u>	<u>150</u>
<u>13 OCCUPATION OCC</u>				
1	white collar occupation (skilled, self-employed workers)		63	79
2	blue collar occupation		87	71
			<u>150</u>	<u>150</u>
<u>14 WIFE'S OCCUPATION OCCW</u>				
1	wife is gainfully employed, homemaker		16	37
2	wife is unemployed		134	113
			<u>150</u>	<u>150</u>
<u>15 LIFE GOAL GOAL</u>				
1	modern life goal		96	110
2	less modern life goal		54	40
			<u>150</u>	<u>150</u>
<u>16 AREA (Mufakose) / SECTION (Kambuzuma)</u>				
1	higher residential standard		81	75
2	lower residential standard		69	75
			<u>150</u>	<u>150</u>
K: development duration, M: 1= core areas 2 = newer areas				
<u>17 RESIDENCE DURATION IN HOUSE RESHOUSE</u>				
1	M 7+, K 10+ years	long-term residence	73	78
2	M -6, K -9 years	short-term residence	77	72
			<u>150</u>	<u>150</u>

1975 Mufakose and Kambuzuma Study Continued

	M	K	
<u>18 RESIDENCE DURATION IN TOWNSHIP RESDUR</u>			
1 M 9+, K 10+ years	long-term residence	74	83
2 M -8, K -9 years	short-term residence	76	67
		150	150
<u>19 MARRIED ACCOMMODATION MARRACC</u>			
1 no deprivation as regards married accommodation		72	95
2 (during M 4, K 2 years) deprivation as regards married accommodation		78	55
		150	150
<u>20 HOUSE (Mufakose)</u>			
1 3-4 bedrooms	large house	36	
2 1-2 bedrooms	small house	114	
		150	
<u>20 EXTENSION (Kambuzuma)</u>			
1 full extension to house			114
2 no or partial extension to house			36
			150
<u>21 HOME IMPROVEMENT HOMEIMP (Mufakose)</u>			
1 home improvements made		96	
2 no home improvements made		54	
		150	
<u>21 TITLE (Kambuzuma)</u>			
1 respondent holds title to urban house and plot			22
2 respondent does not hold title to urban house and plot			128
			150
<u>22 ELECTRICITY</u>			
1 electricity in home		81	73
2 no electricity in home		69	77
		150	150
<u>23 RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY ASPIRATION ASPMOB</u>			
1 aspiration for residential mobility		60	29
2 no aspiration for residential mobility		90	121
		150	150
<u>24 HOME OWNERSHIP ASPIRATION HOMEASP (Mufakose)</u>			
1 home-ownership aspiration		49	
2 no home-ownership aspiration		101	
		150	
<u>25 RURAL-URBAN SCHOOLING SCHOOL</u>			
1 urban schooling		42	42
2 no urban schooling		108	108
		150	150

1975 Mufakose and Kambuzuma Study Continued

	M	K
<u>26 MIGRATION TRADITION MIGTRAD</u>		
1 father worked in town	72	68
2 father did not work in town	78	82
	<u>150</u>	<u>150</u>
<u>27 STEP MIGRATION STEPMIG</u>		
1 direct migration to Salisbury (born in town)	124	121
2 step migration to Salisbury	26	29
	<u>150</u>	<u>150</u>
<u>28 URBAN EXPERIENCE URBEXP</u>		
Years spent in town over 15 years of age.		
1 M 25+, K 20+ years	high urban experience	78
2 M -24, K -19 years	low urban experience	72
		<u>150</u>
		<u>150</u>
<u>29 STABILIZATION STAB</u>		
Years spent in town over 15 years of age multiplied by 100 and divided by age minus 15 years. Index varies from 0 - 100.		
1 M 83+, K 80+	high stabilization	75
2 M -82, K -79	low stabilization	75
		<u>150</u>
		<u>150</u>
<u>30 URBAN COMMITMENT URBCOMMIT</u>		
Intention of staying in town.		
1 permanent stabilization response	higher commitment	14
2 temporary stabilization response	lower commitment	136
		<u>150</u>
		<u>150</u>
<u>31 SOCIAL MOBILITY SOCMOB</u>		
Job mobility indicates		
1 achievement increase		89
2 uncertain, equal achievement, decrease (no job mobility)		61
		<u>150</u>
		<u>150</u>
<u>32 JOB SHIFT JOBSHIFT</u>		
Number of jobs held in town.		
1 M 4+, K 3+ jobs	high job shift	61
2 M -3, K -2 jobs	low job shift	89
		<u>150</u>
		<u>150</u>
<u>33 JOB STABILITY JOBSTAB</u>		
Years spent in any one job held in town.		
1 M 15+, K 10+ years	high job stability	74
2 M -14, K -9 years	low job stability	76
		<u>150</u>
		<u>150</u>

1975 Mufakose and Kambuzuma Study Continued

	M	K
<u>34 HOME VISIT HOVISIT</u>		
Sojourn at rural home for period of six months or more.		
1 no career interruption	126	133
2 career interruption	24	17
	<u>150</u>	<u>150</u>
<u>35 COMMITMENT WHEN UNEMPLOYED UNEMPLOY</u>		
With reference to M respondent, K respondent and his family:		
1 urban residence commitment when unemployed	92	71
2 rural residence commitment when unemployed	58	79
	<u>150</u>	<u>150</u>
<u>36 RETIREMENT PLANS RETIREPLAN</u>		
1 urban retirement plans (purchase area, undecided)	31	63
2 rural retirement plans	119	87
	<u>150</u>	<u>150</u>
<u>37 RURAL-URBAN COMMITMENT AFTER RETIREMENT RETIRECOMM</u>		
Intention of staying on in town after retirement.		
1 urban commitment (undecided)	20	60
2 non-urban commitment	130	90
	<u>150</u>	<u>150</u>
<u>38 RURAL-URBAN RESIDENCE PREFERENCE RUPREF</u>		
Preference for permanent residence with family in town or rural area.		
1 urban residence preference (both urban, rural; APA)	46	81
2 rural residence preference	104	69
	<u>150</u>	<u>150</u>
<u>39 RURAL VISITING PATTERN PATTERN</u>		
1 non-visitor or occasional visitor	85	99
2 regular visitor	65	51
	<u>150</u>	<u>150</u>
<u>40 WIFE'S RURAL VISITING PATTERN WPATTERN</u>		
1 wife is non-visitor or occasional visitor	66	78
2 wife is seasonal visitor or resides in rural area	84	72
	<u>150</u>	<u>150</u>
<u>41 REMITTANCE FREQUENCY REMITFR</u>		
1 non-remitter or occasional remitter	55	74
2 regular remitter	95	76
	<u>150</u>	<u>150</u>
<u>42 LAND</u>		
Rights to work a plot of land in rural area.		
1 no land rights (uncertain)	29	32
2 land rights	121	118
	<u>150</u>	<u>150</u>

1975 Mufakose and Kambuzuma Study Continued

	M	K
<u>43 RURAL HOME RURHOME</u>		
1 respondent has not built a house in rural area	26	56
2 respondent has built/is building house in rural area	124	94
	<u>150</u>	<u>150</u>
<u>44 CATTLE</u>		
1 respondent does not own cattle	44	47
2 respondent owns cattle	106	103
	<u>150</u>	<u>150</u>
<u>45 TAX</u>		
1 respondent does not pay taxes in rural area	31	33
2 respondent pays taxes in rural area	119	117
	<u>150</u>	<u>150</u>
<u>46 RURAL-URBAN INVESTMENTS INVESTMENT</u>		
1 all or some investments in town (in APA)	72	139
2 investments in tribal area (no investments)	78	11
	<u>150</u>	<u>150</u>
<u>47 PENSION</u>		
1 participation in pension scheme	76	94
2 no participation in pension scheme	74	56
	<u>150</u>	<u>150</u>
<u>48 URBAN KINSHIP TIES URBKIN</u>		
1 visits urban kin seldom, never; no urban kin loose ties	66	46
2 visits urban kin often tight ties	84	104
	<u>150</u>	<u>150</u>
<u>49 COMPANION</u>		
1 urban-tied leisure companionship	127	126
2 rural-tied leisure companionship	23	24
	<u>150</u>	<u>150</u>
<u>50 DRINKING COMPANIONS DRINKCOMP</u>		
1 urban-tied drinking companions	85	98
2 rural-tied drinking companions	15	9
0 abstainers	100	107
<u>51 CHURCH</u>		
1 regular, irregular church attendance	68	72
2 infrequent, no church attendance	82	78
	<u>150</u>	<u>150</u>
<u>52 CLUB MEMBERSHIP CLUB</u>		
1 club membership	86	86
2 no club membership	64	64
	<u>150</u>	<u>150</u>

1975 Mufakose and Kambuzuma Study Continued

	M	K
<u>53 THRIFT SOCIETY THRIFTS</u>		
With reference to respondent and/or wife		
1 thrift society membership in town	31	30
2 no thrift society membership in town	119	120
	<u>150</u>	<u>150</u>
<u>54 BURIAL SOCIETY BURIALS</u>		
1 no burial society membership	123	131
2 burial society membership	27	19
	<u>150</u>	<u>150</u>
<u>55 TRADE UNION TRADEU</u>		
1 trade union membership	27	26
2 no trade union membership	123	124
	<u>150</u>	<u>150</u>
<u>56 WEEKDAY LEISURE LEIS1</u>		
1 urban leisure activity	79	106
2 non-urban leisure activity	71	44
	<u>150</u>	<u>150</u>
<u>57 WEEKEND LEISURE LEIS2</u>		
1 urban leisure activity	57	86
2 non-urban leisure activity	93	64
	<u>150</u>	<u>150</u>
<u>58 CONSUMPTION PATTERN CONSUM</u>		
Possession of 11 standard consumer items:		
1 M 4+, K 5+ items high urban consumption	86	80
2 M -3, K -4 items low urban consumption	64	70
	<u>150</u>	<u>150</u>
<u>59 TRIBAL ROLE TRIBE</u>		
1 no tribal role	118	132
2 indication of tribal connection	32	18
	<u>150</u>	<u>150</u>
<u>60 RURAL-URBAN IDENTIFICATION IDENT</u>		
Image of self as:		
1 person of the town, of both town and country	37	107
2 person of the country	113	43
	<u>150</u>	<u>150</u>
<u>61 CATTLE/PENSION PREFERENCE CPPREF</u>		
Preference for cattle or pension at retirement.		
1 pension preference (both cattle and pension)	67	99
2 cattle preference (undecided)	83	51
	<u>150</u>	<u>150</u>

1975 Mufakose and Kambuzuma Study Continued

	M	K
<u>HYPOTHETICAL CONVERSATIONS</u>		
1 urban, modern response		
2 non-urban, traditional response		
<u>62 HYPCON1</u>		
1 urban retirement claim	74	100
2 no urban retirement claim (non-response)	76	50
	<u>150</u>	<u>150</u>
<u>63 HYPCON2</u>		
1 urban residence commitment for wives	28	60
2 no urban residence commitment for wives (non-response)	122	90
	<u>150</u>	<u>150</u>
<u>64 HYPCON3</u>		
1 interest in community affairs	110	95
2 interest in politics (non-response)	40	55
	<u>150</u>	<u>150</u>
<u>65 HYPCON4</u>		
1 town home-ownership house perceived as security (indecision)	51	73
2 town home-ownership house perceived as investment	99	77
	<u>150</u>	<u>150</u>
<u>66 HYPCON5</u>		
1 procreation perceived in relation to means of support	95	111
2 procreation perceived as old age security	55	39
	<u>150</u>	<u>150</u>
<u>67 HYPCON6</u>		
1 African claim to Salisbury	91	128
2 no African claim to Salisbury (non-response)	59	22
	<u>150</u>	<u>150</u>
<u>68 HYPCON7</u>		
1 African claim to urban areas	127	145
2 African claim to tribal areas (non-response)	23	5
	<u>150</u>	<u>150</u>

1975 Mufakose Study Continued

Cell values of cross-tabulations between significantly related 1975 Mufakose variables ($p < .01$).

1 2 χ^2/CC			1 2 χ^2/CC			1 2 χ^2/CC			1 2 χ^2/CC			1 2 χ^2/CC			
1 x 4			1 x 6			1 x 8			1 x 19			1 x 25			
1	49	50	25,6	24	66	7,4	40	41	15,2	36	35	13,0	22	20	7,4
2	4	47	,38	29	31	,22	13	56	,30	17	61	,28	31	77	,22
1 x 28			1 x 33			1 x 57			1 x 66			2 x 7			
1	10	68	36,0	18	56	7,7	29	28	9,7	42	53	8,9	64	48	10,8
2	43	29	,44	35	41	,22	24	69	,25	11	44	,24	10	28	,26
2 x 39			2 x 40			2 x 42			2 x 43			2 x 61			
1	52	33	11,0	43	23	11,8	29	0	22,2	20	5	9,6	41	26	6,8
2	22	43	,26	31	53	,27	45	76	,36	54	70	,25	33	50	,21
3 x 11			3 x 12			3 x 13			3 x 29			3 x 31			
1	21	16	8,5	36	38	9,0	33	30	11,6	19	55	8,3	42	47	10,4
2	34	79	,23	19	57	,24	22	65	,27	36	39	,23	13	48	,25
3 x 36			3 x 48			3 x 51			3 x 52			3 x 66			
1	19	12	10,2	16	50	7,8	43	25	37,8	41	45	10,5	43	52	8,2
2	36	83	,25	39	45	,22	12	70	,45	14	50	,26	12	43	,23
4 x 8			4 x 11			4 x 18			4 x 19			4 x 20			
1	69	12	28,9	17	20	8,8	41	33	7,3	56	15	8,6	16	20	9,8
2	30	39	,40	82	31	,24	58	18	,22	43	35	,23	83	31	,25
4 x 26			4 x 28			5 x 7			5 x 8			5 x 16			
1	55	17	6,7	38	40	21,6	49	63	16,3	56	25	17,7	35	46	7,3
2	44	34	,21	61	11	,35	31	7	,31	24	45	,32	45	24	,22
5 x 20			5 x 22			5 x 40			5 x 66			6 x 46			
1	11	25	9,9	35	46	7,3	26	40	9,2	59	36	8,0	52	20	8,6
2	69	45	,25	45	24	,22	54	30	,24	21	34	,23	38	40	,23
7 x 16			7 x 21			7 x 22			7 x 24			7 x 39			
1	68	13	8,0	80	16	10,6	68	13	8,0	45	4	11,3	73	12	13,0
2	44	25	,23	32	22	,26	44	25	,23	67	34	,26	39	26	,28
7 x 40			7 x 41			7 x 42			7 x 46			7 x 63			
1	66	0	23,3	52	3	18,1	28	1	9,1	66	6	21,2	27	1	8,6
2	46	38	,37	60	35	,33	84	37	,24	46	32	,35	85	37	,23
8 x 11			8 x 18			8 x 28			8 x 32			8 x 42			
1	13	24	7,0	31	43	8,6	33	45	8,9	24	37	8,9	24	5	12,0
2	68	45	,21	50	26	,23	48	24	,24	57	32	,24	57	64	,27
8 x 43			8 x 66			11 x 16			11 x 18			11 x 20			
1	22	4	11,9	59	36	6,9	28	53	9,3	27	47	11,0	18	18	16,4
2	59	65	,27	22	33	,21	9	60	,24	10	66	,26	19	95	,31
11 x 22			11 x 24			11 x 31			11 x 36			11 x 51			
1	28	53	9,3	19	30	7,8	30	59	9,6	14	17	8,8	25	43	9,8
2	9	60	,24	18	83	,22	7	54	,25	23	96	,24	12	70	,25
11 x 58			12 x 13			12 x 14			12 x 19			12 x 24			
1	31	55	14,0	53	10	52,6	14	2	10,4	45	27	9,6	34	15	11,7
2	6	58	,29	21	66	,51	60	74	,25	29	49	,25	40	61	,27

1975 Mifakose Study Continued

	1	2	χ^2/CC	1	2	χ^2/CC	1	2	χ^2/CC	1	2	χ^2/CC	1	2	χ^2/CC
	12 x 36			12 x 58			12 x 67			12 x 68			13 x 14		
1	24	7	12,3	58	28	26,4	53	38	7,3	69	58	8,3	13	3	11,3
2	50	69	,28	16	48	,39	21	38	,22	5	18	,23	50	84	,26
	13 x 16			13 x 18			13 x 19			13 x 20			13 x 22		
1	43	38	8,9	39	35	6,9	42	30	15,2	22	14	7,1	43	38	8,9
2	20	49	,24	24	52	,21	21	57	,30	41	73	,21	20	49	,24
	13 x 24			13 x 36			13 x 40			13 x 45			13 x 46		
1	29	20	8,8	22	9	13,5	37	29	9,6	6	25	8,2	39	33	8,4
2	34	67	,24	41	78	,29	26	58	,25	57	62	,23	24	54	,23
	13 x 58			13 x 66			13 x 67			13 x 68			14 x 18		
1	51	35	24,8	51	44	14,5	48	43	11,0	59	68	6,8	13	61	7,3
2	12	52	,38	12	43	,30	15	44	,26	4	19	,21	3	73	,22
	14 x 24			14 x 40			14 x 46			14 x 58			14 x 62		
1	11	38	10,6	14	52	13,8	14	58	11,2	14	72	6,7	14	60	10,4
2	5	96	,26	2	82	,29	2	76	,26	2	62	,21	2	74	,25
	15 x 23			15 x 24			15 x 59			16 x 17			16 x 18		
1	46	14	7,0	43	6	17,8	68	50	9,8	56	17	29,5	59	15	38,9
2	50	40	,21	53	48	,33	28	4	,25	25	52	,41	22	54	,45
	16 x 19			16 x 20			16 x 22			16 x 24			16 x 32		
1	48	24	8,9	36	0	23,8	81	0	75,5	38	11	16,2	42	19	9,1
2	33	45	,24	45	69	,37	0	69	,58	43	58	,31	39	50	,24
	16 x 36			16 x 38			16 x 40			16 x 41			16 x 46		
1	25	6	11,2	34	12	10,6	49	17	19,4	39	16	10,0	51	21	15,8
2	56	63	,26	47	57	,26	32	52	,34	42	53	,25	30	48	,31
	16 x 58			16 x 60			16 x 63			17 x 18			17 x 20		
1	65	21	37,8	27	10	7,1	23	5	11,0	16	13	66,7	28	8	16,1
2	16	48	,45	54	59	,21	58	64	,26	12	64	,55	45	69	,31
	17 x 22			17 x 28			17 x 32			17 x 58			18 x 20		
1	56	25	29,5	46	32	6,9	40	21	11,8	55	31	18,9	29	7	18,5
2	17	52	,41	27	45	,21	33	56	,27	18	46	,33	45	69	,33
	18 x 22			18 x 24			18 x 32			18 x 58			19 x 22		
1	59	22	38,9	34	15	11,7	41	20	13,1	57	29	23,2	48	33	8,9
2	15	54	,45	40	61	,27	33	56	,28	17	47	,37	24	45	,24
	19 x 40			19 x 46			19 x 56			19 x 57			19 x 58		
1	40	26	7,5	46	26	14,0	47	32	8,8	36	21	8,5	51	35	10,3
2	32	52	,22	26	52	,29	25	46	,24	36	57	,23	21	43	,25
	19 x 61			19 x 62			20 x 22			20 x 36			20 x 37		
1	40	27	6,6	46	28	11,7	36	45	23,8	13	18	6,9	10	10	8,6
2	32	51	,21	26	50	,27	0	69	,37	23	96	,21	26	104	,23
	20 x 38			20 x 40			20 x 46			20 x 49			20 x 54		
1	20	26	13,8	24	42	9,9	25	47	8,7	24	103	11,8	35	88	7,4
2	16	88	,29	12	72	,25	11	67	,23	12	11	,27	1	26	,22
	20 x 58			20 x 59			20 x 60			21 x 58			21 x 61		
1	32	54	19,3	22	96	8,7	15	22	7,4	66	20	14,2	51	16	7,7
2	4	60	,34	14	18	,23	21	92	,22	30	34	,29	45	38	,22
	22 x 24			22 x 32			22 x 36			22 x 38			22 x 40		
1	38	11	16,2	42	19	9,1	25	6	11,2	34	12	10,6	49	17	19,4
2	43	58	,31	39	50	,24	56	63	,26	47	57	,26	32	52	,34

1975 Mufakose Study Continued

	1	2	χ^2/CC	1	2	χ^2/CC	1	2	χ^2/CC	1	2	χ^2/CC	1	2	χ^2/CC
	22 x 41			22 x 46			22 x 58			22 x 60			22 x 63		
1	39	16	10,0	51	21	15,8	65	21	37,8	27	10	7,1	23	5	11,0
2	42	53	,25	30	48	,31	16	48	,45	54	59	,21	58	64	,26
	23 x 24			23 x 36			23 x 37			23 x 40			24 x 36		
1	41	8	57,8	19	12	7,4	14	6	8,7	35	31	8,3	17	14	8,7
2	19	82	,53	41	78	,22	46	84	,23	25	59	,23	32	87	,23
	24 x 37			24 x 38			24 x 40			24 x 58			24 x 67		
1	12	8	7,8	23	23	9,1	34	32	19,0	38	48	12,2	38	53	8,7
2	37	93	,22	26	78	,24	15	69	,34	11	53	,27	11	48	,23
	25 x 29			26 x 33			26 x 49			28 x 29			28 x 64		
1	33	42	19,0	27	47	7,8	67	60	7,5	55	20	27,4	50	60	7,1
2	9	66	,34	45	31	,22	5	18	,22	23	52	,39	28	12	,21
	30 x 37			30 x 38			30 x 44			30 x 60			31 x 48		
1	5	15	6,7	11	35	16,7	9	35	9,1	9	28	13,0	28	38	14,0
2	9	121	,21	3	101	,32	5	101	,24	5	108	,28	61	23	,29
	31 x 51			31 x 52			32 x 33			33 x 47			34 x 39		
1	51	17	12,7	61	25	11,2	22	52	7,2	46	30	7,7	78	7	8,8
2	38	44	,28	28	36	,26	39	37	,21	28	46	,22	48	17	,24
	36 x 58			37 x 46			37 x 62			37 x 63			38 x 40		
1	25	61	8,7	16	56	9,5	16	58	8,7	8	20	6,9	28	38	7,7
2	6	58	,23	4	74	,24	4	72	,23	12	110	,21	18	66	,22
	38 x 46			38 x 58			38 x 60			39 x 40			39 x 41		
1	32	40	12,4	36	50	11,9	27	10	41,3	52	14	23,5	44	11	19,3
2	14	64	,28	10	54	,27	19	94	,46	33	51	,37	41	54	,34
	39 x 42			39 x 43			39 x 44			39 x 45			39 x 63		
1	25	4	12,8	22	4	10,0	34	10	10,8	25	6	9,1	23	5	9,1
2	60	61	,28	63	61	,25	51	55	,26	60	59	,24	62	60	,24
	40 x 41			40 x 42			40 x 43			40 x 44			40 x 45		
1	45	10	50,4	26	3	30,4	23	3	25,2	30	14	14,8	21	10	9,0
2	21	74	,50	40	81	,41	43	81	,38	36	70	,30	45	74	,24
	40 x 46			40 x 58			40 x 60			40 x 62			40 x 63		
1	42	30	11,5	46	40	7,4	26	11	13,8	44	50	14,2	21	7	13,4
2	24	54	,27	20	44	,22	40	73	,29	22	54	,29	45	77	,29
	41 x 42			41 x 43			41 x 44			41 x 45			41 x 46		
1	22	7	23,8	18	8	14,4	28	16	19,5	20	11	13,1	35	37	8,5
2	33	88	,37	37	87	,30	27	79	,34	35	84	,28	20	58	,23
	41 x 60			41 x 64			42 x 43			42 x 44			42 x 45		
1	22	15	11,0	33	77	7,9	18	8	50,2	18	26	18,6	15	16	21,2
2	33	80	,26	22	18	,22	11	113	,50	11	95	,33	14	105	,35
	42 x 56			43 x 44			43 x 45			44 x 45			44 x 46		
1	22	57	7,8	15	29	12,2	14	17	21,1	15	16	6,8	29	43	8,0
2	7	64	,22	11	95	,27	12	107	,35	29	90	,21	15	63	,23
	44 x 63			45 x 63			46 x 58			46 x 60			47 x 52		
1	14	14	7,1	11	17	7,3	51	35	10,3	25	12	7,5	52	34	7,7
2	30	92	,21	20	102	,22	21	43	,25	47	66	,22	24	40	,22
	48 x 51			48 x 52			48 x 59			49 x 50			51 x 52		
1	21	47	8,7	27	59	13,0	60	58	10,5	78	7	25,4	53	33	21,6
2	45	37	,23	39	25	,28	6	26	,26	6	9	,45	15	49	,35

1975 Mufakose Study Continued

1 2 χ^2/CC			1 2 χ^2/CC			1 2 χ^2/CC			1 2 χ^2/CC			1 2 χ^2/CC			
51 x 62			51 x 67			52 x 54			55 x 59			56 x 57			
1	43	31	9,6	49	42	6,8	60	63	20,4	16	102	7,4	45	12	25,5
2	25	51	,25	19	40	,21	26	1	,35	11	21	,22	34	59	,38
57 x 68			58 x 60			60 x 61			60 x 63			61 x 63			
1	55	72	9,9	28	9	6,8	24	43	8,1	15	13	15,5	19	9	7,5
2	2	21	,25	58	55	,21	13	70	,23	22	100	,31	48	74	,22
62 x 63			62 x 68			63 x 67									
1	22	6	11,8	69	58	8,3	23	66	6,7						
2	52	70	,27	5	18	,23	5	54	,21						

1 2 3 χ^2/CC				1 2 3 χ^2/CC				1 2 3 χ^2/CC				1 2 3 χ^2/CC				
1 x 9				3 x 9				9 x 10				9 x 12				
1	20	10	16,9	17	13	19,2	14	1	1	80,5	25	40	9	23,2		
2	25	58	,32	35	48	,34	13	56	7	,59	5	43	28	,37		
3	8	29		3	34		3	26	29							
9 x 13				9 x 15				9 x 19				9 x 24				
1	22	39	2	33,3	19	61	16	10,2	21	42	9	14,4	13	32	4	10,9
2	8	44	35	,43	11	22	21	,25	9	41	28	,30	17	51	33	,26
9 x 47				9 x 57				9 x 58				9 x 66				
1	22	41	13	10,0	20	30	7	16,3	25	49	12	17,8	27	54	14	19,7
2	8	42	24	,25	10	53	30	,31	5	34	25	,33	3	29	23	,34
9 x 67				1 x 10				3 x 10				4 x 10				
1	24	55	12	18,2	13	3	20,3	8	8	15,4	13	3	11,0			
2	6	28	25	,33	28	48	,35	37	39	,31	57	19	,26			
3				12	46			10	48			29	29			
6 x 10				8 x 10				10 x 13				10 x 19				
1	4	12	10,9	14	2	11,2	12	39	12	20,7	13	40	19	13,1		
2	45	31	,26	43	33	,26	4	37	46	,35	3	36	39	,28		
3	41	17		24	34											
10 x 28				10 x 34				10 x 38				10 x 58				
1	6	31	41	13,3	16	70	40	14,0	7	31	8	12,7	13	48	25	9,6
2	10	45	17	,29	0	6	18	,29	9	45	50	,28	3	28	33	,25

Cell values of cross-tabulations between significantly related 1975 Kambuzuma variables ($p < .01$).

1 2 χ^2/CC			1 2 χ^2/CC			1 2 χ^2/CC			1 2 χ^2/CC			1 2 χ^2/CC			
1 x 4			1 x 8			1 x 11			1 x 13			1 x 17			
1	64	26	45,4	53	22	29,1	13	42	21,8	48	31	9,8	25	53	18,0
2	9	51	,48	20	55	,40	60	35	,36	25	46	,25	48	24	,33

1975 Kambuzuma Study Continued

1 2 χ^2/CC			1 2 χ^2/CC			1 2 χ^2/CC			1 2 χ^2/CC			1 2 χ^2/CC			
1 x 18			1 x 25			1 x 28			1 x 32			1 x 38			
1	29	54	14,0	29	13	9,7	21	52	22,5	33	53	8,6	48	33	7,9
2	44	23	,29	44	64	,25	52	25	,36	40	24	,23	25	44	,22
2 x 42			2 x 56			3 x 51			3 x 56			3 x 64			
1	31	1	23,8	70	36	6,7	26	46	12,6	31	75	7,1	29	66	7,5
2	58	60	,37	19	25	,21	9	69	,28	4	40	,21	6	49	,22
4 x 8			4 x 11			4 x 13			4 x 17			4 x 18			
1	64	11	40,1	19	36	23,4	58	21	12,5	33	45	21,2	37	46	18,4
2	26	49	,46	71	24	,37	32	39	,28	57	15	,35	53	14	,33
4 x 19			4 x 27			4 x 28			4 x 29			4 x 38			
1	65	30	7,7	81	40	12,6	23	50	48,1	34	40	12,0	57	24	7,9
2	25	30	,22	9	20	,28	67	10	,49	56	20	,27	33	36	,22
4 x 47			5 x 6			5 x 7			5 x 20			5 x 29			
1	64	30	6,9	34	13	19,1	43	68	9,1	45	69	8,1	26	48	6,9
2	26	30	,21	35	68	,34	26	13	,24	24	12	,23	43	33	,21
5 x 30			6 x 12			6 x 13			6 x 14			6 x 17			
1	26	14	7,9	29	39	7,4	36	43	15,7	23	14	21,7	16	62	8,8
2	43	67	,22	18	64	,22	11	60	,31	24	89	,36	31	41	,24
6 x 20			6 x 30			6 x 33			6 x 35			6 x 37			
1	29	85	7,7	24	16	20,8	24	75	6,8	32	39	11,8	27	33	8,7
2	18	18	,22	23	87	,35	23	28	,21	15	64	,27	20	70	,23
6 x 38			6 x 40			6 x 43			6 x 47			6 x 48			
1	33	48	7,2	34	44	11,3	29	27	17,4	37	57	7,5	6	40	10,3
2	14	55	,21	13	59	,26	18	76	,32	10	46	,22	41	63	,25
6 x 62			6 x 63			6 x 65			7 x 14			7 x 20			
1	39	61	8,2	28	32	10,9	33	40	12,7	34	3	8,2	93	21	14,2
2	8	42	,23	19	71	,26	14	63	,28	77	36	,23	18	18	,29
7 x 22			7 x 26			7 x 30			7 x 35			7 x 37			
1	64	9	13,8	58	10	8,2	36	4	7,3	63	8	15,2	52	8	8,3
2	47	30	,29	53	29	,23	75	35	,22	48	31	,30	59	31	,23
7 x 38			7 x 40			7 x 41			7 x 43			7 x 46			
1	68	13	9,1	78	0	36,8	69	5	28,1	55	1	27,2	108	31	13,5
2	43	26	,24	33	39	,44	42	34	,40	56	38	,39	3	8	,29
7 x 47			7 x 58			7 x 60			7 x 61			7 x 63			
1	77	17	8,2	67	13	8,5	86	21	7,9	82	17	11,8	54	6	13,3
2	34	22	,23	44	26	,23	25	18	,22	22	29	,27	57	33	,29
7 x 65			8 x 11			8 x 12			8 x 17			8 x 18			
1	61	12	6,8	15	40	17,9	43	25	8,7	25	53	20,9	29	54	16,9
2	50	27	,21	60	35	,33	32	50	,23	50	22	,35	46	21	,32
8 x 19			8 x 22			8 x 28			8 x 29			8 x 30			
1	56	39	8,3	45	28	7,7	18	55	36,5	28	46	8,6	27	13	6,7
2	19	36	,23	30	47	,22	57	20	,44	47	29	,23	48	62	,21
8 x 32			8 x 33			8 x 37			8 x 38			8 x 41			
1	33	53	10,9	41	58	8,6	38	22	7,1	54	27	19,6	46	28	8,6
2	42	22	,26	34	17	,23	37	53	,21	21	48	,34	29	47	,23
8 x 58			8 x 61			8 x 67			11 x 18			11 x 20			
1	49	31	8,7	59	40	10,7	71	57	10,4	49	65	8,2	49	65	8,2
2	26	44	,23	16	35	,26	4	18	,25	6	30	,23	6	30	,23

1975 Kambuzuma Study Continued

1 2 χ^2/CC			1 2 χ^2/CC			1 2 χ^2/CC			1 2 χ^2/CC			1 2 χ^2/CC			
11 x 28			11 x 58			12 x 13			12 x 14			12 x 20			
1	35	38	7,8	37	43	6,8	53	26	31,9	27	10	15,1	59	55	7,9
2	20	57	,22	18	52	,21	15	56	,42	41	72	,30	9	27	,22
12 x 21			12 x 22			12 x 23			12 x 30			12 x 32			
1	17	5	10,6	51	22	34,5	21	8	10,5	33	7	30,4	31	55	7,0
2	51	77	,26	17	60	,43	47	74	,26	35	75	,41	37	27	,21
12 x 35			12 x 37			12 x 38			12 x 40			12 x 41			
1	46	25	20,6	43	17	28,0	52	29	25,3	46	32	12,2	44	30	11,8
2	22	57	,35	25	65	,40	16	53	,38	22	50	,27	24	52	,27
12 x 43			12 x 47			12 x 53			12 x 58			12 x 60			
1	38	18	18,3	54	40	14,9	7	23	7,3	53	27	30,3	57	50	9,5
2	30	64	,33	14	42	,30	61	59	,22	15	55	,41	11	32	,24
12 x 61			12 x 62			12 x 63			12 x 65			12 x 66			
1	58	41	20,6	55	45	11,3	40	20	18,4	46	27	17,9	59	52	10,5
2	10	41	,35	13	37	,26	28	62	,33	22	55	,33	9	30	,26
12 x 67			13 x 14			13 x 21			13 x 22			13 x 27			
1	65	63	10,5	28	9	10,4	19	3	11,7	52	21	19,7	70	51	6,7
2	3	19	,26	51	62	,25	60	68	,27	27	50	,34	9	20	,21
13 x 30			13 x 32			13 x 35			13 x 36			13 x 37			
1	33	7	19,5	37	49	7,5	46	25	7,9	42	21	8,5	45	15	20,0
2	46	64	,34	42	22	,22	33	46	,22	37	50	,23	34	56	,34
13 x 38			13 x 40			13 x 47			13 x 58			13 x 60			
1	53	28	11,5	49	29	6,7	60	34	12,6	52	28	10,5	65	42	9,8
2	26	43	,27	30	42	,21	19	37	,28	27	43	,26	14	29	,25
13 x 61			13 x 63			13 x 65			13 x 66			13 x 67			
1	62	37	11,6	45	15	20,0	49	24	11,9	66	45	7,9	73	55	6,7
2	17	34	,27	34	56	,34	30	47	,27	13	26	,22	6	16	,21
14 x 17			14 x 22			14 x 30			14 x 33			14 x 35			
1	12	66	7,5	30	43	20,7	22	18	27,0	17	82	8,8	33	38	34,5
2	25	47	,22	7	70	,35	15	95	,39	20	31	,24	4	75	,43
14 x 36			14 x 37			14 x 38			14 x 40			14 x 41			
1	25	38	13,2	26	34	18,8	31	50	17,5	33	45	27,2	31	43	23,3
2	12	75	,28	11	79	,33	6	63	,32	4	68	,39	6	70	,37
14 x 43			14 x 44			14 x 57			14 x 58			14 x 60			
1	27	29	26,7	18	29	6,8	29	57	8,9	32	48	21,7	33	74	7,7
2	10	84	,39	19	84	,21	8	56	,24	5	65	,36	4	39	,22
14 x 62			14 x 63			14 x 65			15 x 33			15 x 64			
1	32	68	8,7	26	34	18,8	28	45	14,3	65	34	8,8	77	18	7,9
2	5	45	,23	11	79	,33	9	68	,30	45	6	,24	33	22	,22
16 x 17			16 x 18			16 x 43			17 x 18			17 x 22			
1	50	20	12,9	51	32	9,7	20	36	7,3	78	5	96,3	30	43	6,8
2	25	47	,28	24	43	,25	55	39	,22	0	67	,63	48	29	,21
17 x 28			17 x 32			17 x 33			17 x 38			17 x 43			
1	47	26	8,7	53	33	7,5	59	40	6,7	32	49	11,0	19	37	11,7
2	31	46	,23	25	39	,22	19	32	,21	46	23	,26	59	35	,27
18 x 38			18 x 43			19 x 28			19 x 32			19 x 34			
1	36	45	8,4	22	34	9,3	38	35	7,8	46	40	8,4	90	43	9,5
2	47	22	,23	61	33	,24	57	20	,22	49	15	,23	5	12	,24

1975 Kambuzuma Study Continued

1 2 χ^2/CC			1 2 χ^2/CC			1 2 χ^2/CC			1 2 χ^2/CC			1 2 χ^2/CC			
19 x 42			19 x 47			19 x 65			20 x 22			20 x 35			
1	14	18	6,7	68	26	8,8	37	36	9,8	69	4	26,7	61	10	7,3
2	81	37	,21	27	29	,24	58	19	,25	45	32	,39	53	26	,22
20 x 40			20 x 43			20 x 46			20 x 58			20 x 61			
1	69	9	13,8	50	6	8,6	111	28	15,5	70	10	12,4	82	17	7,4
2	45	27	,29	64	30	,23	3	8	,31	44	26	,28	32	19	,22
20 x 63			20 x 66			21 x 22			21 x 23			21 x 30			
1	54	6	10,7	92	19	11,1	17	56	8,4	10	19	11,3	13	27	13,9
2	60	30	,26	22	17	,26	5	72	,23	12	109	,26	9	101	,29
21 x 32			21 x 35			21 x 37			21 x 38			21 x 41			
1	6	80	9,5	16	55	6,7	16	44	11,5	18	63	8,0	17	57	8,1
2	16	48	,24	6	73	,21	6	84	,27	4	65	,23	5	71	,23
21 x 47			21 x 65			22 x 30			22 x 34			22 x 35			
1	20	74	8,8	17	56	8,4	35	5	32,9	70	63	7,4	50	21	25,5
2	2	54	,24	5	72	,23	38	72	,42	3	14	,22	23	56	,38
22 x 37			22 x 38			22 x 39			22 x 40			22 x 41			
1	42	18	18,2	55	26	26,1	58	41	11,5	52	26	21,1	50	24	20,9
2	31	59	,33	18	51	,38	15	36	,27	21	51	,35	23	53	,35
22 x 43			22 x 47			22 x 53			22 x 57			22 x 58			
1	43	13	28,3	59	35	20,0	7	23	9,6	54	32	16,1	60	20	47,6
2	30	64	,40	14	42	,34	66	54	,25	19	45	,31	13	57	,49
22 x 60			22 x 61			22 x 63			22 x 65			22 x 66			
1	60	47	8,2	60	39	16,6	43	17	21,2	44	29	7,7	68	43	27,1
2	13	30	,23	13	38	,32	30	60	,35	29	48	,22	5	34	,39
22 x 67			23 x 25			23 x 26			23 x 30			23 x 36			
1	68	60	6,9	15	27	10,0	20	48	8,1	17	23	18,8	22	41	16,9
2	5	17	,21	14	94	,25	9	73	,23	12	98	,33	7	80	,32
23 x 37			23 x 38			23 x 40			23 x 41			23 x 63			
1	20	40	12,6	23	58	9,3	22	56	8,2	21	53	7,7	19	41	9,8
2	9	81	,28	6	63	,24	7	65	,23	8	68	,22	10	80	,25
23 x 65			25 x 26			25 x 29			25 x 38			25 x 40			
1	21	52	8,1	31	37	19,1	31	43	14,0	32	49	11,6	30	48	8,8
2	8	69	,23	11	71	,34	11	65	,29	10	59	,27	12	60	,24
25 x 41			25 x 42			26 x 30			26 x 37			26 x 43			
1	28	46	7,0	17	15	12,7	27	13	10,8	35	25	6,8	34	22	8,5
2	14	62	,21	25	93	,28	41	69	,26	33	57	,21	34	60	,23
26 x 44			26 x 62			26 x 65			26 x 67			28 x 29			
1	31	16	11,7	54	46	9,1	41	32	6,7	64	64	7,7	61	13	66,7
2	37	66	,27	14	36	,24	27	50	,21	4	18	,22	12	64	,55
28 x 32			28 x 52			28 x 56			29 x 32			30 x 32			
1	55	31	18,9	34	52	6,7	44	62	7,4	52	34	10,0	16	70	6,7
2	18	46	,33	39	25	,21	29	15	,22	22	42	,25	24	40	,21
30 x 33			30 x 35			30 x 36			30 x 37			30 x 38			
1	18	81	10,7	36	35	39,8	25	38	9,4	36	24	56,8	38	43	36,9
2	22	29	,26	4	75	,46	15	72	,24	4	86	,52	2	67	,44
30 x 39			30 x 40			30 x 41			30 x 43			30 x 44			
1	35	64	11,2	35	43	27,5	33	41	24,0	33	23	47,6	22	25	14,2
2	5	46	,26	5	67	,39	7	69	,37	7	87	,49	18	85	,29

1975 Kambuzuma Study Continued

	1	2	χ^2/CC	1	2	χ^2/CC	1	2	χ^2/CC	1	2	χ^2/CC	1	2	χ^2/CC
	30 x 45			30 x 47			30 x 57			30 x 58			30 x 60		
1	15	18	7,6	36	58	17,4	31	55	9,1	36	44	29,5	37	70	12,0
2	25	92	,22	4	52	,32	9	55	,24	4	66	,41	3	40	,27
	30 x 61			30 x 62			30 x 63			30 x 65			30 x 66		
1	37	62	17,1	39	61	23,3	33	27	41,1	36	37	37,3	37	74	9,7
2	3	48	,32	1	49	,37	7	83	,46	4	73	,45	3	36	,25
	31 x 32			32 x 47			32 x 61			32 x 64			33 x 35		
1	61	25	16,7	44	50	11,4	48	51	9,3	62	33	6,7	38	33	9,4
2	24	40	,32	42	14	,27	38	13	,24	24	31	,21	61	18	,24
	33 x 36			33 x 37			33 x 38			33 x 40			33 x 65		
1	34	29	7,0	32	28	7,1	46	35	6,7	44	34	6,7	40	33	8,0
2	65	22	,21	67	23	,21	53	16	,21	55	17	,21	59	18	,23
	34 x 39			34 x 41			34 x 46			35 x 36			35 x 37		
1	94	5	11,4	71	3	7,7	126	13	7,4	38	25	7,3	47	13	38,5
2	39	12	,27	62	41	,22	7	4	,22	33	54	,22	24	66	,45
	35 x 38			35 x 39			35 x 40			35 x 41			35 x 42		
1	57	24	37,5	57	42	12,3	58	20	47,6	56	18	47,1	24	8	12,5
2	14	55	,45	14	37	,28	13	59	,49	15	61	,49	47	71	,28
	35 x 43			35 x 44			35 x 45			35 x 47			35 x 58		
1	49	7	57,8	32	15	11,8	24	9	10,9	54	40	10,3	52	28	21,5
2	22	72	,53	39	64	,27	47	70	,26	17	39	,25	19	51	,35
	35 x 60			35 x 61			35 x 62			35 x 63			35 x 65		
1	65	42	27,0	59	40	17,6	58	42	14,0	45	15	30,7	48	25	19,4
2	6	37	,39	12	39	,32	13	37	,29	26	64	,41	23	54	,34
	36 x 37			36 x 38			36 x 41			36 x 43			36 x 58		
1	39	21	21,7	42	39	7,0	39	35	6,9	32	24	8,4	42	38	7,8
2	24	66	,36	21	48	,21	24	52	,21	31	63	,23	21	49	,22
	36 x 63			36 x 65			37 x 38			37 x 39			37 x 40		
1	33	27	6,9	40	33	9,6	51	30	38,7	49	50	10,9	44	34	18,2
2	30	60	,21	23	54	,25	9	60	,45	11	40	,26	16	56	,33
	37 x 41			37 x 42			37 x 43			37 x 44			37 x 58		
1	48	26	37,6	21	11	11,1	39	17	32,7	29	18	13,4	45	35	18,9
2	12	64	,45	39	79	,26	21	73	,42	31	72	,29	15	55	,33
	37 x 60			37 x 61			37 x 62			37 x 63			37 x 65		
1	54	53	17,0	50	49	13,4	54	46	24,5	41	19	33,4	46	27	31,4
2	6	37	,32	10	41	,29	6	44	,37	19	71	,42	14	63	,42
	38 x 39			38 x 40			38 x 41			38 x 43			38 x 44		
1	62	37	8,7	59	19	30,6	56	18	27,6	45	11	25,0	33	14	7,2
2	19	32	,23	22	50	,41	25	51	,39	36	58	,38	48	55	,21
	38 x 47			38 x 57			38 x 58			38 x 60			38 x 61		
1	60	34	9,8	55	31	8,0	57	23	20,5	73	34	30,4	66	33	18,8
2	21	35	,25	26	38	,23	24	46	,35	8	35	,41	15	36	,33
	38 x 62			38 x 63			38 x 65			39 x 40			39 x 41		
1	68	32	23,7	45	15	17,8	54	19	22,8	63	15	15,8	65	9	31,0
2	13	37	,37	36	54	,33	27	50	,36	36	36	,31	34	42	,41
	39 x 43			39 x 44			39 x 45			39 x 60			39 x 63		
1	48	8	15,5	39	8	8,8	28	5	6,7	80	27	12,8	50	10	13,4
2	51	43	,31	60	43	,24	71	46	,21	19	24	,28	49	41	,29

1975 Kambuzuma Study Continued

1 2 χ^2/CC			1 2 χ^2/CC			1 2 χ^2/CC			1 2 χ^2/CC			1 2 χ^2/CC		
40 x 41			40 x 42			40 x 43			40 x 44			40 x 45		
1	63 11	64,2	26 6	13,9	52 4	59,8	37 10	19,6	29 4	21,8				
2	15 61	,55	52 66	,29	26 68	,53	41 62	,34	49 68	,36				
40 x 46			40 x 47			40 x 57			40 x 58			40 x 60		
1	77 62	8,8	58 36	9,5	53 33	7,5	54 26	16,5	70 37	26,9				
2	1 10	,24	20 36	,24	25 39	,22	24 46	,31	8 35	,39				
40 x 61			40 x 62			40 x 63			40 x 65			40 x 66		
1	61 38	10,8	60 40	7,7	47 13	27,8	53 20	24,2	65 46	7,4				
2	17 34	,26	18 32	,22	31 59	,40	25 52	,37	13 26	,22				
41 x 42			41 x 43			41 x 44			41 x 45			41 x 47		
1	28 4	23,7	48 8	47,3	36 11	20,4	27 6	17,9	55 39	8,5				
2	46 72	,37	26 68	,49	38 65	,35	47 70	,33	19 37	,23				
41 x 58			41 x 60			41 x 61			41 x 62			41 x 63		
1	48 32	7,8	63 44	13,6	59 40	12,3	60 40	13,7	45 15	26,4				
2	26 44	,22	11 32	,29	15 36	,28	14 36	,29	29 61	,39				
41 x 65			42 x 43			42 x 44			42 x 45			42 x 60		
1	49 24	18,0	25 31	28,9	25 22	41,4	22 11	51,8	29 78	7,4				
2	25 52	,33	7 87	,40	7 96	,47	10 107	,51	3 40	,22				
42 x 62			42 x 65			43 x 44			43 x 45			43 x 47		
1	28 72	7,9	24 49	11,3	30 17	20,5	25 8	26,7	43 51	7,6				
2	4 46	,22	8 69	,26	26 77	,35	31 86	,39	13 43	,22				
43 x 58			43 x 60			43 x 61			43 x 62			43 x 63		
1	43 37	19,7	52 55	20,2	47 52	12,8	47 53	12,0	41 19	41,1				
2	13 57	,34	4 39	,34	9 42	,28	9 41	,27	15 75	,46				
43 x 65			43 x 66			44 x 45			44 x 62			45 x 63		
1	42 31	24,8	51 60	13,5	21 12	20,5	39 61	8,2	21 39	9,8				
2	14 63	,38	5 34	,29	26 91	,35	8 42	,23	12 78	,25				
45 x 65			46 x 60			46 x 61			46 x 68			47 x 55		
1	23 50	7,5	105 2	16,4	96 3	7,9	136 9	8,1	23 3	8,9				
2	10 67	,22	34 9	,31	43 8	,22	3 2	,23	71 53	,24				
47 x 58			47 x 61			48 x 65			51 x 52			51 x 56		
1	58 22	7,1	73 26	15,3	14 59	8,8	60 26	38,3	59 47	8,5				
2	36 34	,21	21 30	,30	32 45	,24	12 52	,45	13 31	,23				
51 x 57			52 x 56			56 x 57			57 x 58			57 x 62		
1	50 36	8,3	71 35	13,8	68 18	6,9	55 25	9,1	67 33	11,5				
2	22 42	,23	15 29	,29	38 26	,21	31 39	,24	19 31	,27				
58 x 60			58 x 61			58 x 63			58 x 65			58 x 66		
1	66 41	10,5	63 36	12,4	47 13	25,1	48 25	8,9	68 43	10,8				
2	14 29	,26	17 34	,28	33 57	,38	32 45	,24	12 27	,26				
58 x 67			60 x 61			60 x 63			60 x 68			61 x 63		
1	75 53	9,7	79 20	10,2	53 7	14,1	106 39	6,7	53 7	22,2				
2	5 17	,25	28 23	,25	54 36	,29	1 4	,21	46 44	,36				
61 x 66			62 x 64			62 x 65			63 x 65			63 x 66		
1	80 31	7,0	71 24	7,6	61 12	18,3	47 26	35,2	55 56	16,2				
2	19 20	,21	29 26	,22	39 38	,33	13 64	,44	5 34	,31				
67 x 68														
1	126 19	8,5												
2	2 3	,23												

1975 Kambuzuma Study Continued

1 2 3 χ^2/CC				1 2 3 χ^2/CC				1 2 3 χ^2/CC				1 2 3 χ^2/CC				
1 x 9				4 x 9				6 x 9				8 x 9				
1	33	15	13,4	39	9	13,4	23	25	9,4	37	11	21,2				
2	36	49	,29	43	42	,29	21	64	,24	33	52	,35				
3	4	13		8	9		3	14		5	12					
9 x 10				9 x 12				9 x 13				9 x 14				
1	20	9	32,7	38	30	0	32,0	37	39	3	21,4	21	14	2	14,0	
2	26	46	7	,42	10	55	17	,42	11	46	14	,35	27	17	15	,29
3	2	30	9													
9 x 17				9 x 18				9 x 21				9 x 22				
1	16	49	13	11,9	19	50	14	10,3	14	8	0	10,4	37	34	2	27,3
2	32	36	4	,27	29	35	3	,25	34	77	17	,25	11	51	15	,39
9 x 25				9 x 30				9 x 32				9 x 34				
1	23	17	2	14,4	28	12	0	33,1	16	57	13	17,1	47	74	12	9,8
2	25	68	15	,30	20	73	17	,43	32	28	4	,32	1	11	5	,25
9 x 35				9 x 36				9 x 37				9 x 38				
1	34	32	5	16,0	31	28	4	15,3	33	25	2	26,1	41	33	7	28,1
2	14	53	12	,31	17	57	13	,30	15	60	15	,38	7	52	10	,40
9 x 40				9 x 41				9 x 43				9 x 47				
1	38	32	8	21,4	33	32	9	12,0	32	20	4	26,0	41	43	10	16,0
2	10	53	9	,35	15	53	8	,27	16	65	13	,38	7	42	7	,31
9 x 48				9 x 58				9 x 61				9 x 63				
1	10	25	11	11,5	41	37	2	34,9	40	47	12	10,9	30	25	5	14,9
2	38	60	6	,27	7	48	15	,43	8	38	5	,26	18	60	12	,30
9 x 65				9 x 66				4 x 10				6 x 10				
1	35	33	5	17,1	45	56	10	14,7	23	7		6,7	17	13		15,9
2	13	52	12	,32	3	29	7	,30	48	31		,21	25	54		,31
3									19	22			5	36		
8 x 10				10 x 12				10 x 14				10 x 22				
1	23	7		10,8	22	39	7	23,2	22	12	3	48,7	24	38	11	19,6
2	35	44		,26	8	40	34	,37	8	67	38	,50	6	41	30	,34
3	17	24														
10 x 23				10 x 30				10 x 35				10 x 38				
1	11	16	2	11,3	18	18	4	23,6	24	36	11	19,9	18	35	10	9,4
2	19	63	39	,26	12	61	37	,37	6	43	30	,34	12	44	31	,24
10 x 37				10 x 38				10 x 40				10 x 41				
1	17	36	7	13,5	24	43	14	14,7	26	38	14	20,2	21	43	10	16,2
2	13	43	34	,29	6	36	27	,30	4	41	27	,34	9	36	31	,31
10 x 43				10 x 47				10 x 56				10 x 58				
1	22	26	8	22,8	24	52	18	10,4	25	61	20	13,4	26	42	12	22,9
2	8	53	33	,36	6	27	23	,25	5	18	21	,29	4	37	29	,36



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